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THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN JOHN SARIS TO JAPAN,

1613.

SECOND SERIES.

No. V.

THE SHŌGUN IYEYASU.

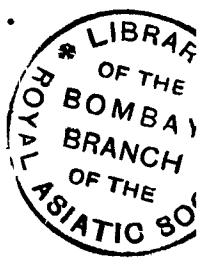
THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN JOHN SARIS

TO

JAPAN, 1613.



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ac.

Edited from Contemporary Records

BY

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Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to China, and late Her Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Japan.

LONDON:

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PREFACE.

THE MS. journal of Saris's voyage from Bantam to Japan was transcribed for this volume by Miss Sainsbury, and the copy carefully compared with the original by Mr. William Foster, of the India Office. A great part of the material used in the Introduction was either furnished or pointed out by that gentleman, who kindly took the trouble of copying a good deal of it from the old records of the East India Company. A large debt of gratitude is further due to him from the Editor for the useful notes he has contributed to the work, for his invaluable assistance in correcting the proofs, and for undertaking various other burdens which usually devolve upon an editor.

To Professor Mikami Sanji, of the Imperial University, Tokio, the Editor is indebted for copies of Japanese documents, and to Professor Riess, of the same institution, for valuable suggestions and the loan of books. His thanks are also due to the Hon. Matsura Atsushi for the portrait of his ancestor which accompanies the volume, as well as for notes on the family pedigree; to Admiral Penrose Fitzgerald, and Captain Ottley, R.N., for help in explaining nautical terms, etc.; to Mr. D. F. A. Hervey, C.M.G., Mr. W. P. Groeneveldt, and Mr. G. P. Rouffaer, for explanations of Malay terms; and to Professor R. K. Douglas, of the British Museum, and Mons. Léon Van de Polder, of the Netherlands Legation at Tokio, for similar assistance in identifying the Chinese and Dutch words occurring in the text. He has also been much indebted to Mr. W. G. Aston, C.M.G., and Sir Frank Swettenham, K.C.M.G., for

friendly help of various kinds ; and to Dr. Murray, one of the editors of *A New English Dictionary*, who was good enough to permit him to see unpublished slips of that monumental work.

The Index has been compiled by Miss H. F. Fenwick.

The portions included within square brackets in the text have been taken from Purchas's published version of the journal.

Amongst the strange and outlandish words in the text, some being names of places, others those of persons, others again those of textile fabrics, not a few have eluded the endeavours of the Editor and his friends to identify and elucidate them. Possibly these riddles might be solved if life were long enough to devote a dozen years or more to exploring the hidden corners of knowledge. That not being a justifiable expectation, he can only offer an apology for the imperfections of his work, which have taught him, at least, to regard with sympathy the shortcomings of fellow-workers in the same field.

London, August 15, 1900.

INTRODUCTION.

I.—The Manuscript and its History.

THE present volume contains Saris's original journal of his voyage from Bantam to Japan in 1613, and of his stay in that country, printed from the manuscript in the India Office Records. To this have been added from Purchas, Cocks's narrative of the events at Hirado during Saris's absence on his journey to Court, some extracts from Purchas's version of the journal which do not appear in the MS., the abridged account of the homeward voyage of the *Clove*, and a trade report drawn up by Saris during his residence at Bantam in 1605-09; also, from the India Office Records, a letter written by him at the Cape, and his report addressed to the East India Company from Plymouth on his return.

"The journal preserved at the India Office (Marine Records, No. xiv) is a volume of 135 folios, well written, and containing, in the earlier portion, rough sketches, in a green wash, of portions of the African coast. These are on sheets inserted between the leaves of the Diary, and it is possible that there were more of them, and that the rest have been lost. It is, however, more likely that, as the Diary itself was not finished, the later sketches were also omitted.

"It is in Saris's own hand, as is proved by a comparison with letters of his in the India Office. But that it is not the original (rough) log seems to be certain, for the following reasons:—

(1) It is unfinished, breaking off in the middle of a page with no apparent reason.

(2) It omits many particulars given by Purchas in his printed version, which was taken, he says, from the navigator's "owne journall." Some of these may of course be amplifications by Saris (who was evidently in communication with Purchas when the latter was preparing his work); but others appear to be certainly from the original log.

(3) It is very uniformly written, apparently at leisure. The writer has had time to print many words in "Old English" characters.

(4) In some cases words are placed in brackets, as though to supply defects in the original, *e.g.*, "I appointed the Boatswane to see [that] all [watcht], except," etc.

"There is no indication that this copy was ever in the archives of the East India Company, who would of course have received either the original log or a complete copy. At present its history cannot be traced further back than about the middle of the present century, when it was in the possession of Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Best Jervis, whose book-plate still adorns the volume. After his return from India, that able and public-spirited officer formed a scheme for printing at his own private press "a series of valuable publications on the geography and statistics of Asia, translated from various languages, and containing the most important records of travellers to new regions" (*Life of Thomas Best Jervis*, by his son, the Cavaliere W. P. Jervis, London, 1898). The project was given up after the issue of the first volume; but it seems probable that Colonel Jervis had intended to include Saris's log in the series, and had purchased the present copy with that end

in view. The Cavaliere Jervis has been kind enough to go through his father's papers in the hope of learning how he became possessed of the journal; but, unfortunately, nothing has been found relating to it. By 1877, when Sir Clements Markham drew attention to it in his Preface to *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (p. xii), the log had found its way to the Topographical Depôt of the War Office. There are two accounts of how it got there. Sir C. Markham (*loc. cit.*) states that it was bought by the Depôt from Mr. Kerslake, a Bristol bookseller; but Mr. Danvers (Preface to the *List of the India Office Marine Records*) says that it "was purchased by the War Office in 1857 for 26*l.* from the executors of the late Colonel Jervis," and this is probably correct. The later history is clear. Sir Clements Markham's note having called attention to the matter, the Secretary of State for War (the Right Hon. E. Stanhope, M.P.) in August, 1889, ordered the journal to be transferred to the India Office in order to make as complete as possible the collection there preserved of the logs of the East India Company's early voyages."[1]

II.—How the East India Company Came to Think of Trading to Japan.

It has been stated that it was the receipt of letters from William Adams that gave the first impulse in England to an attempt to establish commercial relations with Japan. This is, however, not correct. Already in 1580 Jackman and Pet,[2] two sea captains in the employ of the Muscovy Company, started on a voyage to discover the North-East Passage, their instructions being: "After reaching Quinsay

[1] Transcribed from a memorandum furnished by Mr. William Foster.

[2] *Calendar of State Papers, East Indies*, vol. i, p. 61.

Haven [Hangchou] the chief city in Northern China . . . . to take an opportunity to sail over to Japan, where Christian men, Jesuits of many countries of Christendom, and perhaps some Englishmen" would be found. The East India Company's charter is dated the last day of 1600; and in April, 1602, there was an agreement made between the Company and one George Waymouth, mariner, for a voyage by the North-West Passage to Cathay, China, or Japan.[1] This quest of a North-West Passage, though always unsuccessful, was not readily abandoned, and endured down to our own times, when it was finally attained, but proved to be subject to so many difficulties as to be practically valueless.

At the same time, however, the newborn spirit of enterprise was not to be daunted; and after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the English were less than ever disposed to admit the Spanish and Portuguese claims to divide the newly-discovered Asiatic and American regions between them. Whilst pursuing the will-of-the-wisp of a passage round the north of the European and American continents, they commenced trading to the Indies on their own account by more direct routes that lay to the south. In 1577 Drake sailed through the Straits of Magellan, crossed over from the west coast of North America to the Moluccas, and thence returned home round the Cape of Good Hope. In 1582 four vessels, under Edward Fenton, started for the East Indies by way of the Cape or through the Straits of Magellan, as might be found most convenient. They returned after reaching the coast of Brazil. Nine years later three ships, one of them commanded by Captain (afterwards Sir) James Lancaster, sailed by the Cape route, with a view to preying on Portuguese commerce in the East Indies. One of his vessels had to be sent back from

[1] *First Letter-Book of the East India Company*, p. 24.

the Cape, a second foundered at sea, and the third, after, with much difficulty, reaching the West Indies on her homeward voyage, was there lost. Another expedition, consisting likewise of three ships, started forth in 1596, but not a soul returned. Lancaster commanded a third expedition which sailed in February, 1601, and returned in September, 1603, having got as far as Bantam, in Java.[1]

In June, 1604, a licence was granted to Sir Edward Michelborne and others to discover the countries of Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea and Cambaia. With him as pilot sailed the famous navigator, John Davis, who was killed in a desperate fight with Japanese pirates off the coast of the Malay Peninsula. An interesting description of this affair is given at pp. 178-182 of *The Voyages and Works of John Davis*, edited by Admiral Albert H. Markham (Hakluyt Society, 1880). Henry Middleton commanded the squadron sent on the "Second Voyage" (1604) of the East India Company, with instructions to proceed as far as the Moluccas, but there was no mention of Japan in his commission.

It will be seen further on that the first English navigator who reached Japan was William Adams, who had gone out as chief pilot of a Dutch squadron, and was cast away there in 1600. Two of his companions, Quaeckernaecq and van Santvoort, were enabled to leave Japan in 1605, and we cannot but believe that Adams seized this opportunity to send letters to England, though none is extant that can with any certainty be ascribed to that period. Professor Riess conjectures, indeed, that the fragment of a letter to his wife, without date, printed at p. 33 of the *Memorials of Japon*, may have been written on this occasion. In Adams's letter of October 22, 1611, he says: "As yet, I think, no certain newes is knownen, whether I

[1] *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster, Kt.*, edited by Sir C. R. Markham for the Hakluyt Society, 1877.

be living or dead." But, somehow or other, it had become known that Adams was in Japan, for in his letter of January 12, 1613, addressed to Spalding at Bantam, he says letters had been sent him by his wife and other good friends out of England,[1] of which he had received two that came from London by the *Globe*, of the Seventh Voyage (sailed January 3, 1611), written by Sir Thomas Smythe and his friend John Stokle. These letters, though the seals had not been broken, had been kept six or seven weeks from him, in accordance with the policy of the Dutch East India Company, which forbad the transmission of private letters by their ships. From the commission of Saris, dated April 4, 1611, it will be seen that Adams was known to be resident in Japan, and in great favour with its ruler. It is possible, too, that Adams might have got letters home through the Spaniards or Portuguese, to whom, he says in his first extant letter, he had rendered useful services. It is clear, however, that the project of opening up trade with Japan did not originate in any suggestion of Adams, but dated from a considerably earlier period even than his arrival off the coast of Bungo in 1600. It should be mentioned that, in the Company's instructions for the Seventh Voyage, the principals of the latter were directed to "take the oportunitie (from the most conuenient place you shall arriue att) to send one or twoe of our Factors in such conuenient shippinge as [you] may procure to carrie his Maiesties lettres vnto the kinge of Japan, together with such stocke of Marchandize and Comodities as wee haue appointed our said principall Marchaunts to prouide for that purpose" (*First Letter-Book*, p. 387). The letter thus sent to "the kinge of Japan" is given at p. 426 of that volume; but, of course, it was never presented.

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[1] Apparently by the *Brack* and *Leeuw met Pijlen*, which arrived at Hirado in 1611 and 1612 respectively.

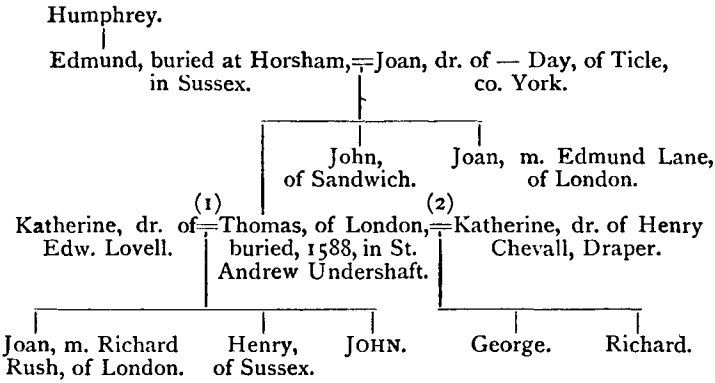
It will be seen that the memorandum containing Saris's observations on the trade of Japan, printed as an appendix to the present volume, was compiled by him during his residence at Bantam (in the course of it he speaks of "this year 1608"); and there can be little doubt that his assumed knowledge of the Japanese trade furnished the main motive for appointing him to the command of a "voyage" which was to embrace that country in its scope. It may seem strange that he makes no mention in this memorandum of Adams, or of information received from him, but the probable explanation is that Adams had not written to Bantam. As there had been a factory there for several years, it seems curious that he should be ignorant of the fact; yet, from his letter of October 22, 1611, he appears to have heard but recently that "certaine English marchants lye in the island of *Iaua*."

III.—Saris's Previous Career; and his Instructions for the Voyage.[1]

According to the inscription upon his tombstone, John Saris was born in the year 1579 or 1580. He came of a Yorkshire family, his great-grandfather, Humphrey Saris, being described as of "Ticle," *i.e.*, Tickhill, an ancient town situated near Doncaster. The family arms—still to be traced on the seals attached to five of John Saris's letters, now in the India Office—were: a chevron between three Saracens'[2] heads couped at the neck. There are several Saris pedigrees among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum (No. 1463, f. 38*b*; No. 1551, f. 101; No. 4964, f. 101; No. 6164, f. 46), and from these the following genealogical table has been compiled:

[1] The greater part of this section has been furnished by Mr. Foster.

[2] Probably a punning allusion to the name.



It will be seen that Saris was the younger[1] son, by his first marriage, of a London citizen, who died while John was still a child. In these circumstances it was natural that, soon after coming of age, he should seek his fortune in the East. Of his introduction to the newly-founded East India Company we have no account, as the Court Minutes for that period are missing. We know, however, that he took part in the Second Voyage under Captain (afterwards Sir) Henry Middleton. The fleet sailed from Gravesend, March 25, 1604, and reached Bantam on December 23. Here it divided, the *Hector* and *Susan* remaining at Bantam to load pepper, while Middleton with the *Dragon* and *Ascension* proceeded to the Moluccas, returning on July 24, 1605. Whether Saris accompanied him thither or spent the interval at Bantam is not known, but probably the latter was the case. At any rate, when Middleton sailed for England, in October, 1605, Saris remained at Bantam among other factors, under Gabriel Towerson, his pay being 3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a month, or 40*l.* a year. His name does not often occur in the records of the time. He is once mentioned as "Master Sarys, merchant, who receiued a cut

[1] *Harl. MS.* 1463 states that he was the elder, but this is contradicted by the other pedigrees, and is in itself unlikely.

on the fore-finger with a sable in a brawl with the Dutch."[1] A letter of his to the Company, dated Bantam, December 4, 1608,[2] gives some particulars about the goods which he recommended should be sent out from England, and mentions several previous letters, especially one of July 14, 1608; but none of these is extant. It was during this time that he compiled a diary of events and other papers,[3] of which the most interesting, on the trade of the Far East, is given at the end of this volume. He gradually rose to be Chief Factor, having, it would seem, succeeded to that post when Towerson went home in the *Dragon* on December 23, 1608. By this time, no doubt, Saris was beginning to feel the need of a respite from his labours; and on October 4, 1609, he handed over charge to Augustin Spalding, and sailed for England in the *Hector*, arriving in the Downs May 10, 1610.

The volumes containing the Court minutes of the East India Company from the beginning of 1610 to the end of 1613 are missing, and nothing is known as to what took place on his return, or of the details of his appointment to command the next year's fleet. As already mentioned, his long residence at Bantam and the diligence shown by him in collecting useful information doubtless had their part in determining the choice of the directors. It is probable also that he had urged the desirability of attempting to open up trade with Japan. Information about that country he had, no doubt, been able to obtain from Dutch acquaintances, derived from Melchor Van Santvoort, who had been backwards and forwards more than once between Japan and Patani, though he could not have known the result of the Dutch expedition which had been despatched to Japan from Johore in May, 1609.[4]

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[1] In Edmund Scot's *Discourse of Iava* (*Purchas*, vol. i, pp. 164-185).
[2] *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. i, p. 20.
[3] See *Purchas*, vol. i, pp. 384-395.
[4] See below, p. xlix.

The following is an abstract of Saris's commission from the Company, dated April 4, 1611 :—[1]

"April 4, 1611.—A Commission sett downe by us the Gouernor, Deputy and Comittees for the Marchaunts of London tradeinge to the East Indies, for better direccion of our loueinge freinds, John Sairis, Captaine and cheefe Comander, and Gabriell Towerson, Captaine of the *Hector*, our principall and cheefe Marchaunts, and others the Marchaunts, Masters and Marriners in this our intended eight Voyadge to the East Indies, which wee humblie beseech Almightie God to prosper with a happie Conclusion."

1. Having prepared three ships for a voyage to the East Indies, viz. :

The *Clove*	- -	James Foster, Master.
The *Hector*	- -	Thomas Fuller, „
The *Thomas*	- -	Richard Dawes, „

John Saris, gen̄ (gentleman) is appointed "cheefe Captain and Comander, to goe in the *Cloue* and to Comand all our said shipps and the men in them . . . . not doubtinge butt thatt he will soe behaue himselfe in his chardge as he may be both feared and loued, and that he will with all his dilligence and endevors prosecute our designes and labour to bringe this costlie voyadge to a happie end."

2. Gabriel Towerson to be Captain of the *Hector* and men, and Tempest Peacock to be chief merchant in the *Thomas*.

3. Prayers to be said morning and evening. The purser of each ship has been furnished with a Bible, containing also the book of Common Prayer, for this purpose.

4. Blasphemy, swearing, theft, drunkenness and other disorders to be severely punished. Gaming to be strictly forbidden.

5. The ships to be kept clean and sweet.

6. Provisions to be husbanded and strictly accounted for.

7. Two Councils appointed :

(*a*) For special occasions of trade and merchandising : Saris, Towerson, Peacock, Cocks, Ambrose Armeway, Rich. Wickham, Edw. Camden, and George Ball.

(*b*) For seafaring causes : Saris, Towerson, the three Masters, and their Mates.

8. Instructions to be framed for the ships keeping company, and a rendezvous appointed in case of separation.

9. "Contynueall and true Journalls" to be kept, not only by the captains, but by the merchants, pursers, masters and master's mates ; and these to be compared once or twice a week, "soe as a perfect discourse may be sett downe to be presented to the

[1] *First Letter-Book of the East India Company*, pp. 396-420.

Gouernor and Company when God shall graunte them a safe retourne, to be kept for better direccion of posteritie."

10. When watering, care to be taken that the men do not injure or wrong the natives; also that they do not surfeit themselves "in eatinge of fruites and fresh victualls." Special care to be taken to relieve the sick.

11. Men to be warned not to straggle from their companions at the watering-places.

12. Order to be taken concerning the goods of any men dying in the voyage. No man to be allowed to bring more goods aboard than his chest will hold, and all these to be entered in the purser's books on pain of confiscation.

13. Water casks to be filled with sea water when emptied of fresh, to prevent "leakidge and mustines."

14. The shoals of Judea (Bassas da India) between Africa and Madagascar to be avoided.

15. Whether to refresh at Saldania (Table Bay) or at St. Augustine (Madagascar) is left to their discretion, but not to endanger their arrival at the Bar of Surat by the end of September, "which is the maine and principall scope of this our voyadge." Wherever they water, they should stay as short a time as possible, in order to have time to call at Socotra to refresh themselves and to buy four tons of aloes.

16. At Socotra it is hoped they will meet with some "Guzaratts," from whom they will learn whether Wm. Hawkins and the other factors left at Surat are living, "as alsoe of the state of Sir Henrie Middleton and of those shipps thatt went with him, and in whatt state our busines there standeth, whereby you may the better there gouerne yourselues for performance of our desires: But yf the time of the Monsone be soe farr spent that you cannot arriue att the Barr of Suratt by thend of September or Middle of October next att the farthest, then wee will you to take the first oportunitie either to saile to Aden or Mocha allias Mochowe within the mouth of the red Sea, aboute some tenn leagues distant from Aden as wee vnderstand. Att which porte of Mocha wee haue herd that one of the shipps in the fourth voyadge[1] hath traded and where wee doubt not you may sell Cloth, leade, Iron, Tynn, quicksiluer, for money or gould, for that wee thinke Comodities will be too deare in that place (consideringe our purpose that you goe to Suratt), except you may buy Cloues, Maces or Nutmeggs att a reasonable rate, which are said to be good Comodities att Suratt as well as here in England. In this place you must spend the time till oportunitie doe serue to goe to Suratt, which will not be till towards the end of August followinge, soe as you may arriue there by the end of September, which we

[1] The *Assention*.

pray you to endevor by all possible meanes. Butt, stayinge att Aden or Mocha, haue espetiall care that your men giue noe offence to the people there, still keepinge good watch and standinge vpon your guard, and that out of any danger of any Castle, forte, or Gallies to preuent mischeefe."

17 and 18. Special instructions for Surat.

19. If sufficient goods can be obtained at Surat to lade all three ships "wee will you to take that oportunitie to fraight them all and lett them be retourned as aforesaid;" if only two can be laden, then the *Hector* and *Thomas* are to be sent home under Towerson. List of goods to be purchased at Surat. Calicoes, etc., suitable for Priaman, Bantam, Banda, and the Moluccas to be bought and shipped for those places.

20. Instructions as to goods to be sold and bought at Priaman. "In performance of this busines remember still your purpose to goe for Bantam and Banda, that you slipp not the oportunitie of the Monson."

21. At Banda to purchase nutmegs and mace. A voyage may also be made to the Moluccas to purchase cloves, while nutmegs, etc., are being provided. Then to leave some factors and stock at Banda, and return to Bantam and lade the goods provided and "then in Gods name with all due speede to retourne for England."

If repulsed at Surat, or trade found unsuitable, then the ships are to go to the Red Sea (if not visited already on the way). Any vessels not laden there may be sent to Priaman, etc., as already mentioned.

22. "Findinge faile of trade at Suratt," the "Guzaratts" should be invited to bring their goods to Socotra. A factory may be left at Mocha or some other place in the Red Sea, if thought expedient. If the ships are forced all to go on to Bantam, then the *Hector* and *Thomas* are to be laden there and sent home under Towerson, as aforesaid. "In the search of which trade," an "island neare Celebres" named "Makassa"[1] is recommended to their notice, as rice bought there may be carried to Banda, and will yield three for one, to be invested in nutmegs and mace.

23. "Item, the *Hector* and *Thomas* beinge fraighted and sent for England, then wee wishe you, Capt. John Sairis, to proceede with the *Cloue* and, with all possible speede thatt you may, endevor your course for Japan, haueinge before att Bantam or ellswhere dilligently aduised, inquired and conferred with our Factors, or any other the best meanes you may attaine vnto the knowledge, whereby to informe your selfe for or concerninge our intended voyadge to Japan, and to procure in any of those parts (yf you may) some skilfull pilate experienced in those Coastes and take him

[1] Macassar.

alonge with you, directinge your course from thence to Japan, neglectinge noe tyme, butt takeinge the benefitt and aduantage of those Wynds and Monsons as you shall most certeinlie and trulie informe your selues and learne that they blowe in their seasons." Everywhere they are to enquire for safe harbours and places of trade, and invite merchants thither, especially to Socotra, as already mentioned.

24. "Item, and being arriued att Japan, wee desier you to vse the best meanes to search out the most convenient and safest harbour to trade in, where you may sell Cloth, leade, Iron, and such other of our Natiue Comodities as by your obseruacion you shall finde most vendible there, wherein you are to be very spetially carefull, both whatt Colors and sortes of Cloth and for whatt quantitie will there be vented, as alsoe to giue greate chardge that your men offer noe offence to the people there, still keepinge good watch and standinge vpon your guard, and that out of the danger of any Castle, Forte, or other Gallies or friggotts, to prevent any mischeefe that may happen, and to consult and take good aduise with the rest of the Factors and espetiallie with William Adams, an English man nowe resident there and in greate favour with the kinge as wee heare, to desire his opinion whatt course should be held, both for the delivery of his Maiesties letters nowe sent, whatt presents are to [be] geuen, to whome, by whome and in whatt manner the same is to be done, with all dilligence that shall be requisitt, obserueing carefully the tymes in keepinge the Monsons in all places wheare you shall trade, for attayneinge to other portes, as occasion shall be offered. And for presennts wee haue sent with you as appeareth in the Invoice."

25. "Item, and as you shall receiue incourradgment in the progresse of your affaires by the perswasion of the foresaid William Adams grounded vpon his longe experience in those partes and shall finde that ytt may be with saffetie, as beinge protected vnder the authoritie of the kinge of the Country and may proue Comodious and beneficiall for the good of the Company, Then with the Counsell of Richard Cockes and such principall men as are in your shipp, you may aduise, resolue and leaue such Factors as you in your discrecion shall thinke fitt with such a quantitie of goods as shall be by you thought convenient for the setlinge of a factorie and mainteyneing of a trade att Japan, together with soe many and such sufficient Marriners to attend them and guard our said goods as you shall finde to be needfull and necessarie and to prouide them a good and stronge howse for the better saffetie of such goods as shall be lefte there in chardge with them. But yf you shall finde att Japan [no] convenient meanes of ventinge our Comodities or the retourne of proffitt not to answeare the length and difficultie of the voyadge, or the dangers in prosecuteinge this trade to exceede without

proporcion the advantage to be hoped, then you shall frame your course and seeke vent for such Comodities as you haue either att the Molloccoes, Philippinas or any other places thereabouts, whether you may be incourradged by any probable hopes of peaceable and proffittable tradeinge. And yf att your departure from Japan the said William Adams shall ymportune you to transporte him into his natiue Countrie to visitt his wife and Children, Wee pray you then to accomodate him with as convenient a Cabben as you may and all other necessaries which your shipp may afford him."

26. Strict account to be kept of goods bought and sold, etc.

27. "Item, for that voyadges of this Condicion and charge cannot admitt any priuate trade, but whatsoeuer is atchiued by this generall and greate charge should be applied to the benefitt of the whole Companie, Therefore wee sett ytt downe as an absolute order that noe man, neither Captaines, Marchaunts, Masters or Marriners or any other person or persons whatsoeuer in theis our shipps doe trade or deale for any Marchandize whatsoeuer which wee shall prouide for our retourne or any other sorte of Marchandize more then will be conteyned within his proporcioned Chest of allowaunce for this voyadge, and the same to be registred in the pursers booke, to thend that yf any person die vpon the voyadge, their freinds and Executors may knowe whatt they had and take notice what is become of the same; houldinge ytt most vnreasonable that those that liue by our ymployment should deale with the Comodities which wee labor to gett to produce meanes for payment of their wages and defrayinge of the chardges of this our greate and costlie voyadge."

28. Any person succeeding to higher office is not to have increased wages, but to be referred to the Company to be rewarded "att their retourne as they shall be found to haue deserued." No factors, masters, mates, etc., may be removed except by order of a council.

29. Cabins not to be altered or enlarged unless for cargo purposes.

30. Watch to be kept lest pirates surprise the ships.

31. Unnecessary expense of shooting ordnance, at drinking of healths, or on the captains or cape merchants going ashore, strictly forbidden.

32. If Saris dies, Towerson is to take his place (if present). If Towerson is not available, Cocks is to succeed. If neither be there, then a box No. I delivered to Saris is to be opened, and the name of the person who is to be appointed will be found therein.

33. No private persons to be carried in the ships.

34. "Any faire birds or beasts, or any other rare thinge fitt for vs to present to his Maiestie or any of the noble Lords that are our honorable freinds," are to be carefully kept for this purpose.

35. To observe fit seasons for sailing, and if possible to reach England on the return voyage in May or June.

36. Although instructions have been given for trade at Surat, etc., yet it is left to the discretion of the Captain and his council to vary the course if good reason be found.

37. If deemed desirable, on reaching India, the ships may go to Goga [on the Gulf of Cambay] instead of Surat.

38. Stores to be carefully accounted for.

39. To prevent private trade, factors, etc., are only to be paid so much of their salaries as shall be necessary to provide apparel (and that at the rate of 5*s.* the rial of eight), leaving the rest to be paid in England.

40. Ships not to touch, outwards or homewards, at Falmouth, Plymouth or Dartmouth, except in case of great necessity.

41. "For the better comforte and recreation" of the factors resident in the Indies, the Company has sent "the works of that worthie seruant of Christe Mr. Wm. Perkins, to enstruct their mynds and feede their soules with thatt heauenlie foode of the knowledge of the trueth of Gods word, and the booke of Martirs in twoe voleumes, as alsoe Mr. Hackluits Voyadges to recreate their spiritts with varietie of historie." These works are to be left at the principal factory, "where wee requier that they should haue espetiall care to sanctifie the Sabboth daye, and to reade vpon those devyne books for the instruccion and comforte of all those that shall be there remayninge."

42. In case of shipwreck, care should be taken to land the money, or, if this be not possible, to buoy it in the sea till it can be recovered.

43. Invoices of ships' cargoes to be sent by other ships, as also particulars of goods left at Bantam.

It is clear from this commission that Saris was not sent mainly to open up trade with Japan; that was quite a secondary object. His first business was to go to Surat,[1] in order to follow up Middleton, who (the Company hoped) had settled English trade at that port; and if sufficient lading could be obtained there, all three ships were to return direct to England. If he could not reach Surat that year, Saris was to fill in time by an experimental voyage to Mocha. As we know, this was what happened; but the intended voyage to Surat the

[1] In his journal, Saris says: "the main scope of this voyage is for Surat."

following monsoon was, of course, rendered out of the question by Middleton's hostile reception there, and the measures taken by him (and Saris) to retaliate on the Indian traders in the Red Sea.

The commission is rather carelessly drawn. Much of it is copied, with slight alterations, from the commissions issued for previous voyages.

Saris was also provided with two commissions from King James: one giving him authority for the *Clove*, the other for the whole fleet. No copy of either is known, but they doubtless followed the lines of the commissions for other voyages, which are printed in the *First Letter-Book*. There are minutes of both in the *Grant Book, Domestic, James I*,[1] at the Public Record Office, as follows:—

9 Jac. I, 30 March. A commission granted to John Sayers to be captain of the shipp called the "Cloue," *in a voyage to the East Indyes sett forth by divers Marchants of London, with authority to use Marshall Law.*

. . . . . .

19 Aprill. A Commission Granted to John Sayers to be Captain of the shyppes called the "Clove," "Hector" *and* "Thomas" *in a voyage to the East Indyes, sett forth by divers Marchants of London, with authority to use Marshall Law.*

In Saris's diary he notes that on April 8 he received the King's commission, and that a week later (15th) he received further the King's "letters pattens for the Commaund of the 3 shippes." It is clear, therefore, that the date of the minute of the second grant is wrong. Probably April 9 or 10 is meant.

These commissions were necessary, both as authority for the voyage, and for the government of the crews, as only thus could men be properly punished for serious crime.

[1] P. 82 (in both cases).

IV.—Saris's Voyage from England to Bantam.[1]

It was on April 18, 1611, that Saris sailed from the Downs on his venture to the Far East. He had under his command three ships, viz., the *Clove*, the *Hector*, and the *Thomas*, of which the first and last were new vessels. They carried crews of 89, 110, and 55 men respectively, and in addition the *Clove* and *Hector* had on board four "Indians" apiece, probably natives of Java, who had been brought to England in the Third Voyage, and were now returning home. The *Clove*, which was the flagship, was of course under the direct charge of Saris himself, with James Foster as master, and Richard Cocks as chief merchant; Gabriel Towerson commanded the *Hector*, with Thomas Fuller as master; while Tempest Peacock was captain, and Richard Dawes master, of the remaining vessel.

Saris's narrative divides naturally into two distinct portions: the first dealing with the voyage of the three ships from England to Bantam, including their visit to the Red Sea; the second relating the further venture of the *Clove* alone to Japan and back to England. Of these the earlier portion is very detailed, and occupies a great portion of the journal; but it is of small interest from a geographical point of view, and its principal incidents—the abortive attempt to open up trade at Mocha, and the subsequent wrangles with Sir Henry Middleton over the Indian traders—have already been treated at some length in a former publication of the Society (*Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*) and in the first volume of *Letters Received by the East India Company*. It has been considered advisable, therefore, to restrict the text of the present work to the latter half of the voyage, which alone was in any sense a pioneer expedition. Of the earlier

[1] This section has been contributed by Mr. Foster.

portion the following brief account, taken chiefly from Saris's narrative as given in *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (vol. i, pp. 334 *et seqq.*), will perhaps be deemed sufficient.

The outward voyage was uneventful. The fleet crossed the line on June 6, and reached Table Bay on August 1. After a stay of eight days the voyage was resumed, but storms and the Agulhas current hindered them to such an extent that it was October 26 before they got as far north as the island of Mohilla, in the Comoro group. Though unwilling to lose time, Saris judged it wise to put in here, as many of his men were down with scurvy, and the water-casks were running low. The English were well treated by the natives, and before setting sail (November 3) Saris gave the king a letter of commendation to show succeeding visitors, receiving at the same time "a note under his hand of friendship."

Socotra was sighted on February 16, 1612, and on the evening of the following day the fleet anchored in the road of Tamarida. Cocks was sent ashore to visit the King, who received him graciously and handed him a letter from Sir Henry Middleton, dated September 1, 1611, relating "his disadventures in the Red Sea by Turkish perfidie,"[1]

[1] Middleton had anchored at Mocha in November, 1610, with the ships of the Sixth Voyage. The local authorities received him with such apparent cordiality that he was induced to take up his residence on shore, with the principal factors and many of the sailors. On the 28th of the month, however, while sitting at his door in the cool of the evening, he was suddenly felled to the ground, bound and carried to prison; and the other Englishmen on shore (about sixty in number) were similarly attacked, eight of them killed, and the remainder captured and imprisoned. Simultaneously an attempt was made to surprise the *Darling*, but in this, fortunately, the Turks were repulsed with loss. After a delay of three weeks, Middleton and thirty-four of his companions were sent up in irons to Sana, the principal town of the province, where the Pasha told them that they had been captured by his orders, as he had received stringent instructions from Constantinople, "if any more Englishmen or any other Christians did come into those parts, to confiscate their ships and goods or to kill or captivate all the men they could get into their power." Fear of the English ships seems, however, to have restrained the Pasha from extreme measures, and some native friends exerted themselves to

and warning all succeeding ships not to venture in that direction, as the Pasha of Sana had strict instructions to kill all Christians entering the Red Sea, whether they brought a safe-conduct or not.

This news placed Saris in a difficulty. He had stringent orders to visit Surat before going on to Bantam; but it would be six months before the monsoon would serve for that port, and what was to be done in the meantime? The Company had directed that in such a case the ships should go to Aden or Mocha, and for that purpose had procured through the English ambassador at Constantinople a special pass from the Grand Signor authorising them to trade in "the Dominions of Yemen, Aden and Moha, and the parts adioyning thereunto;"[1] but Middleton's experience seemed to shew that an attempt in that direction would not only be fruitless but positively dangerous. In this difficulty Saris assembled his "merchandising council," and placed before them three alternatives: (1) the fleet to remain at Socotra till the monsoon served for Surat; (2) the *Clove* to proceed at once to Bantam and Japan, while the remaining

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smooth over matters, with the result that on February 17, 1611, the captives were permitted to return to Mocha, on the understanding that thirty of their number (including Middleton) should be detained there as hostages until the traders from India had reached that port unmolested; then they were to be sent on board their ships and take their departure, with a warning never again to venture into the forbidden waters. At Mocha Middleton was well treated, but after waiting two months without seeing any sign of the promised release he determined to make his escape. This was effected by a stratagem on May 11; and once on board the *Darling*, his threats "to fire the ships in the road and do my best to batter the towne about his eares" induced the Governor to surrender the rest of the prisoners, and to pay eighteen thousand rials "for satisfaction of all our goods and losses sustayned." This done, the fleet sailed in the early part of July, 1611. Socotra was reached on August 30, and four days later Middleton sailed for Surat, leaving "letters with the King which hee promised to deliuer to the first English ship that should come there."

[1] The pass is printed in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. i, p. 344, and in *The First Letter-Book of the East India Company*, p. 434. Purchas says in a marginal note (p. 274) that Saris presented the original to him.

vessels waited at Socotra until they could get to Surat; (3) the fleet to go to the Red Sea, in spite of Middleton's warning, on the chance that the Grand Signor's pass would procure them a better reception. Saris himself was in favour of the last proposition, and he had little difficulty in persuading his colleagues to take the same view. Accordingly, on March 1 the fleet set sail, and on the 16th it passed the Straits and anchored in Mocha Road.

There they learned that the Governor who had treated Middleton so badly had been replaced by a Greek renegade, who was reported to be more favourable to merchants than his predecessor. Cocks and a companion landed, and were well received; and a letter promising good treatment was sent on board.[1] Accordingly, on March 20, two hostages having been received, Saris landed in state and was sumptuously entertained by the Governor, to whom he delivered a letter from King James, and exhibited the Grand Signor's pass. In view of the near approach of the Indian trading ships—who might fear to venture in, unless sure that the English intended them no harm—the local officials were evidently anxious to conciliate the newcomers, and Saris "reckoned himselfe sure of Trade," and had "great hope we might leave a Factorye." These hopes, however, were quickly dissipated by the receipt of a note from Sir Henry Middleton, announcing his return to the Red Sea, and warning Saris to get his men and goods aboard without delay. Middleton had been repulsed at Surat, and had consequently determined to lie in wait for the Indian traders, and to force them to exchange their goods for English, "wee hauing

[1] Purchas gives a translation of the Governor's letter; also three cuts of seals from a letter of the "Captain of the Galleys" and a portion of a communication from the Shâhbandar of Mocha "in the Banian hand and language." The last-mentioned (which, by the way, is printed upside-down) is probably the earliest specimen of Gujarâtî to be found in an English book.

come so farre with commodities fitting their Countrie, nowhere else in India vendable;" and further, "to take some reuenge of the great and vnsufferable wrongs and iniuries done me by the Turkes there."[1] As Middleton had already taken some of the Indian vessels and had thus put trade out of the question, Saris had no option but to comply, and on April 12 he weighed and proceeded to the Straits to discuss matters with his former chief. The conference was a stormy one. Middleton was evidently annoyed at the prospect of having to share his booty with anyone; and he coolly proposed that he should first take what he wanted from the Indian traders, and that then Saris should help himself. This proposal Saris refused as unjust, and threatened to sail to windward and to intercept some of the vessels then expected; to which Middleton replied angrily that if this were attempted, he would sink him without ceremony. In the end an agreement was arrived at that both fleets should join in capturing Indian ships and in forcibly bartering cargoes with them, sharing in the proportion of two-thirds for the Sixth Voyage and one-third for the Eighth Voyage. Evidently Saris still hoped to be allowed trade at Mocha, for, with a view to conciliate the officials there, it was stipulated that the Grand Signor was "to haue his Custome paid"—of course at the expense of the unfortunate Indian traders. The *Hector* and *Thomas* accordingly joined in the blockade, while Saris returned in the *Clove* to Mocha to purchase some indigo which had been offered to him. The Governor, though aware of the wrongs which were being done to his co-religionists, evinced no hostility to the English, and even made some show of buying their commodities. This, however, came to nothing, as also the intended purchase of indigo, for which too high a price was asked; and on April 25 Saris moved over to

[1] Middleton's account in *Purchas*, vol. i, p. 272.

Assab, where he found Middleton and Towerson, with eleven sail of Indian "junks."

Soon after his arrival Saris had to face an outbreak on the *Hector*, due, it would seem, to the dissatisfaction of the men with the victuals supplied. In the course of this mutiny, Thomas Fuller, the master, so far forgot himself as to strike Saris, and had it not been for the firmness, and at the same time forbearance, displayed by the latter, things would have taken a very serious turn. Fuller was seized and put in irons, and Richard Dawes was transferred from the *Thomas* to the *Hector* to take his place; while Richard Rowe was promoted to the vacancy in the former vessel.

This difficulty surmounted, another presented itself in the shape of a demand by Sir Henry that Saris should not take any calicoes from the Indian ships, on the ground that this would enable him to spoil Middleton's market in the Eastern seas. Saris of course resisted this unreasonable claim, which was thereupon waived. The forced exchange of commodities now went briskly on, the rates both for Indian and English goods being fixed by certain officers representing the two Voyages. The English wares, it appears, they rated at one hundred per cent. above cost price, except in the case of ivory, on which only fifty per cent. advance was made; while ten, and in some cases twenty, per cent. profit was allowed on the calicoes, etc., taken from the Gujarátís.[1]

Meanwhile Middleton had demanded a hundred thousand rials from the Mocha officials (in addition to what had been already paid him), as "satisfaction for the losse of his mens liues and for the making of him lose his Monson, to the overthrow of his Voyage;" and he threatened to detain the Indian ships until the amount was

[1] See *Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 169.

paid. This led to a further dispute with Saris, who intimated that, as his prospects of peaceful trade at Mocha had been destroyed by Sir Henry's return to the Red Sea, he also must claim compensation, which he thought should take the shape (as in the case of the Indian traders) of one-third of what was obtained. This proposal was violently resisted, but in the end, finding himself without remedy, Middleton agreed to let Saris have one-fourth part of the money, leaving the Company to settle whether a larger proportion should be paid. But it proved to be easier to decide how the expected sum should be divided when obtained, than actually to obtain it. The Turks resolutely refused to pay, and were deaf to the suggestion that they could easily recoup themselves by levying a special tax upon the Indian vessels. Middleton was forced, therefore, either to go without or to extort a ransom from his captives. He chose the latter alternative, and from these luckless individuals, already much wronged by the forced exchange of their goods for others they did not want, he demanded forty thousand rials, threatening, unless the money were paid, to carry the ships away with him. The *nákhudás* wept and implored mercy, but in vain ; and at last, finding him inexorable, they compounded for thirty-two thousand rials, one-fourth of which was made over to Saris in accordance with the agreement, and the vessels were then set free.

The jealousy of the two commanders was still smouldering, and each was on the watch to forestall the other in the markets of the Far East. As far back as May 19, Middleton had sent away the *Darling*, his smallest vessel, with orders to proceed to Priaman, in Sumatra, and purchase what pepper she found available. Saris replied, four days later, by despatching the *Thomas* to the same destination ; and on August 8 the *Hector* also started for Priaman and Tiku. As soon as he had received his share of the plunder, Saris prepared to follow, and on August 13 he sailed for

Bantam. At Socotra he stayed for five days to purchase aloes. The voyage was then resumed ; Cape Comorin was passed at the end of September, and on October 24 the *Clove* anchored in Bantam Road, where she found the *Hector*, which had arrived the previous day. The *Thomas* came in on November 18 with a small quantity of pepper, obtained at Tiku.

The *James*, another English ship, was already in the Road, and more were expected. The result was seen in a great rise in the price of pepper. Saris's needs, however, were urgent ; and on October 28 (when "a Letter from Master William Adams out of Japan[1] was read to all the Merchants, that they might take notice of the hopes of that countrey"), it was resolved that "in regard the Flemmings were so strong and almost sole commanders of the Moluccas and Banda, and that the place heere is so vnhealthfull, besides our people dangerously disordering themselues with drinke and whores ashoare, the *Hector* should with all speed bee dispatched for England, and that fourteene thousand sackes of Pepper should be prouided for the lading of her and the *Thomas*." To look after these matters and to provide a cargo for the *Clove* on her return from Japan, Saris established a factory ashore under George Camden.[2]

Preparations for the further venture to Japan were rapidly pushed forward, the more so since Middleton, who arrived on November 9 in the *Peppercorn*, was believed to be negotiating for the purchase of a ship with the intention of forestalling Saris. To fill the gaps which death had made in his crew, the latter recruited five Englishmen whom he found at Bantam ; later on he engaged a "Swart"

[1] This was no doubt the letter dated October 22 or 23, 1611, printed in Rundall's *Memorials of the Empire of Japon*, and again in *Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 142. It was handed to Saris on Oct. 28 by Augustine Spalding, the Company's chief merchant at Bantam.

[2] Several letters from Saris to Camden at this time will be found in *Letters Received*, vol. i.

named Francisco, two foreigners named Fernando and Mendes, and "one Hernando [Ximenes], a Spannyard, . . . speaking the Mallaya tongue verye perfect." He had also to pacify his sailors, who were again complaining of their food, alleging that he stinted them "to purchas [himself] a good conceite of the Company by sparing of there purses." Perhaps it was with a view of rebutting this calumny that he was so careful (as the text will show) to note each day what victuals were issued to the men.

At last all matters were satisfactorily settled, and Saris was ready to proceed. He waited only to see his other two vessels safely despatched to England. Their ladings having been completed, the *Hector* set sail on December 11, 1612, with orders to wait at the watering-place for the *Thomas*; and on January 12, 1613, her consort followed her. Saris had previously "ordered four hole culuerin out of the *Hector* and two sakers out of the *Thomas* to be brought aboard the *Cloaue*, vnderstandinge by a Fleming which came latelye from Japan that it was one of the requested commodytyes they carryed theather and chiefe cause of obtai[n]ing the settling of a factorye theare, being a matter was at there first arriuall inquired for." Thus provided, on January 15, 1613, Saris left Bantam Road on his voyage to the Moluccas and Japan.

V. — European Commercial Enterprise in the Moluccas previous to Saris's Voyage.[1]

In the earlier portion of his journal Saris tells us something of the more recent history of the Molucca islands,

[1] In the preparation of this section the editor has mainly followed Bokemeyer's learned work, *Die Molukken*, comparing it from time to time, especially in the latter portion, with the more detailed narrative of P. A. Tiele, to which reference has been made in the notes. He has also quoted freely from the volumes published by the Hakluyt Society.

and of the contest between the Dutch and Spaniards, not then as yet concluded, for the possession of the group. We gather from his narrative that the Dutch had a fort on Bachian,[1] several on Makyan,[2] and one, named Marieko,[3] on the western side of Tidore, while the Spaniards held one on the eastern side of that island[4] and a castle on Ternate.[5] He also speaks of warfare between the native princes of Tidore and Ternate. When his journal was being prepared for publication by Purchas, Saris added a general sketch of the state of the islands, enumerating the settlements possessed by the two contending parties, which has been inserted in its proper place in the present volume.[6] This was apparently drawn up from information that came into his possession after his visit to the islands, as it includes the names of the Dutch settlements on Ternate and Makyan, which are not mentioned in the MS.

The existence of the islands which furnished the spices so highly valued in Europe had long been a matter of general knowledge, but their approximate situation was first ascertained after the capture of Malacca in 1611 by the Portuguese under Albuquerque. One of his first measures was the despatch of a small squadron to effect their discovery, under Francisco Serrano, Antonio d'Abreu, and Simão Affonso. They reached the Banda group, whence the first-named of these, having twice suffered shipwreck, made his way to Amboina, and ultimately to Ternate.

At this time the Spice Islands were divided among four native sovereigns: 1st, the King of Ternate, whose authority extended over the south part of Mindanao, the Talaut and Sangi groups, the Togean islands, the east and north coasts of Celebes, the Bangaai archipelago, a large part of

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[1] P. 21. [2] P. 38. [3] P. 57.
[4] P. 50. [5] P. 63. [6] P. 58.

Halmahera,[1] Mareh, Makyan, Motir, the Sula Islands, and the greater portion of the Amboina group. 2nd, the King of Tidore, recognized as suzerain over the east coast of Halmahera, the east coast of Ceram and the islands to the east of the latter, Salwatti, Battanta and Waigiu, west of New Guinea, and the western part of that island. 3rd, the King of Bachian, with Ombi Major, Ombi-latu and the surrounding islets. 4th, the King of Gilolo or Halmahera, who at the time of the first Portuguese visit was a vassal of the King of Ternate.[2]

Serrano gained the friendship of the King of Ternate, and permission to trade was readily accorded to the Portuguese. A squadron from Malacca, under the command of Antonio de Miranda, visited the island and obtained a valuable cargo. It would appear that the Kings of Tidore and Bachian were also disposed to be friendly at the outset, but in 1519 a quarrel occurred between the crew of a Portuguese-owned junk and some of the islanders of Bachian, which caused much ill-feeling.

Hitherto the Portuguese had been undisturbed by any European rivals, but in 1521 two Spanish vessels arrived at Tidore. These belonged to the famous expedition of Magellan, despatched by Charles V with the object of reaching the Spice Islands by an "all-Spanish" route. Serrano is said to have written letters from Ternate, containing information about the Moluccas, which induced him to undertake this voyage.[3] How Magellan, himself a Portuguese in the service of his own sovereign, with whom he had quarrelled because he was refused a moderate

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[1] This is the native name for the island usually known to us as Gilolo. The spelling of these names mainly follows the Admiralty Charts.

[2] Bokemeyer's *Die Molukken.*

[3] Pigafetta, in *The First Voyage round the World*, Hakluyt Society, 1874, p. 127.

increase of his salary, entered the employ of Charles V, and suggested to the latter a scheme for appropriating the monopoly of the trade in spices that rightfully belonged to Portugal by the award of Pope Alexander VI, is well known; also that he lost his life in a skirmish with natives of an island of the group afterwards named the Philippines, before reaching his goal. Of the two ships, one alone returned safely to Spain; and from this time a lively dispute went on between the two nations regarding the right to trade and acquire territory in the Moluccas.

In 1522, a Portuguese fleet arrived from Malacca at Banda, under the command of Antonio de Brito, who, on hearing that both Serrano and the King of Ternate had been poisoned, proceeded thither to avenge Serrano, and to expel the Spaniards from the islands. He reached Tidore at the end of May, and obtained the surrender of some Spanish traders, but refused the King's proposal that he should establish a settlement on the island. Continuing his voyage to Ternate, he concluded a treaty with the Queen-regent and principal nobles, in pursuance of which he laid the foundations of a fort not far from the capital. Shortly after this, the Queen and her father, the King of Tidore, combined together to expel the Portuguese from the archipelago; but the design being discovered, De Brito[1] seized the two sons of the late King. Their mother managed to escape. The Portuguese commander, allying himself with the regent Taruwese, whom he had been able to attach to his interests, fell suddenly upon Tidore, and captured the town of Marieko, the ancient fortified seat of government. Thence he proceeded to attack the Tidorian possessions on Halmahera and Makyan.

De Brito was relieved of the command in 1525 by Garcias, and the latter in his turn, in 1527, by Menezes.

[1] See *The First Voyage*, etc., p. 127.

In 1529 a Spanish vessel arrived at Tidore, and the commander persuaded the inhabitants to join him in attacking the Portuguese in Ternate. A fight ensued, in which the Spaniards at first gained the advantage, and an armistice was concluded, but on its expiration the fortune of war changed. Menezes captured the native town and the Spanish citadel. The garrison was, however, allowed to march out with the honours of war, and an agreement was made that hostilities should not be renewed until the question of right was settled between the Emperor Charles V and Dom João of Portugal.

During this campaign, Dayalo, one of the two Ternatan princes, died, and Bohejat, the other, was recognised as sole heir to the throne. Shortly afterwards another anti-foreign conspiracy was formed, in which the regent Tarwese took part; but it was discovered, and he was beheaded by Menezes. In 1530 a new governor was appointed named Gonzalo Pereira, but in the following year he was assassinated by the Ternatans, and Vicentio da Fonseca was elected governor in his stead. In this affair the Portuguese chaplain acted with the natives. Fonseca then allied himself with a native chief named Kechil Pate Sarang; but King Bohejat refused to side with them, and being driven to take flight was replaced by his step-brother Taberidji.

In October 1533, Tristan de Atayde arrived as governor of the Portuguese settlements in the Moluccas, and the Spaniards finally quitted the islands, Charles V having ceded his claim to Dom João III for a sum of 350,000 ducats. A new king, named Haïr, was placed on the throne of Ternate, and the island of Bachian was conquered with the aid of the Kings of Ternate and Tidore, who were thus found for once acting in accord. Shortly after this, another rising against the Portuguese took place, and they were shut up in their fortress of Gamulamu on

Ternate, but the fortunate arrival of Simão Sodreo from Malacca with reinforcements caused the assailants to raise the siege. Nevertheless, the Portuguese continued to be hard beset by the natives until October 1536, when the appointment of Antonio Galvano promised to inaugurate a better state of things. Galvano, who was regarded by his contemporaries as an honourable and upright gentleman, initiated a conciliatory policy, and an armistice was arranged. But it was broken by the anti-foreign party, and he found himself obliged to take up arms against the native princes. He attacked Tidore, where the ex-King Bohejat was slain in the very first engagement, and both town and citadel fell once more into the hands of the Portuguese.

A principal cause of the weakness of the Portuguese had been the frequent change of governors, each new one fancying it necessary to reverse the policy of his predecessor. In 1540 De Castro relieved Galvano. Haïr continued to occupy the throne, and a period of comparative peacefulness ensued until 1570, when an insurrection in one of the neighbouring islands led to his being arrested by Diego Lopez, who was governor at the time. He was sent to Goa for trial, but was acquitted and permitted to return to Ternate. Lopez, in his turn, was sent to Goa to give an account of his proceedings, but was shortly afterwards reinstated. Out of revenge he contrived the murder of Haïr, and cut his body into pieces, which he exhibited from the walls of the fort with every mark of contumely to the infuriated inhabitants. On a complaint being carried to Goa, he was recalled and replaced by Pereira; but the people were not to be appeased, and rose in rebellion under their new king Babu. The Portuguese were expelled from Ternate and took refuge on Tidore, where their position became one of increasing difficulty. In India, also, their power was decaying, while Malacca became less and less able to furnish

reliefs. Atayde, who had become Viceroy of India, attempted to restore the situation by adopting a conciliatory attitude towards the Ternatans, but without success.

It was in 1579 that the English first appeared upon the scene, as we learn from the account of Drake's voyage round the world.[1] He reached the Moluccas in November of that year, and received an offer from the King of Ternate to reserve the whole commerce of the island for his countrymen. Very friendly relations were established, and the ship was supplied with provisions and fruit, besides as much cloves as she could conveniently carry. The author reports that "the present king with his brethren, in reuenge of their fathers murther, so bestirred themselues, that the Portingall was wholly driuen from that Iland, and glad that he yet keepes footing in Tidore." He also tells us of a Chinese gentleman living there as an exile, who described the greatness and riches of his native country in a manner that called forth the admiration of the simple-hearted English sailors, mentioning among other things that "they had brasse ordnance of all sorts (much easier to be trauersed then ours were, and so perfectly made that they would hit a shilling) aboue 2000 yeares a goe." Drake sailed again after a stay of only six days, having created an impression on the minds of the natives that lasted for many years subsequently.

When the crown of Portugal was annexed to that of Spain by Philip II, in 1580, a stronger policy was adopted by the Portuguese. As soon as the news of that event reached the Moluccas, King Babu despatched an envoy to the sovereign of the Peninsula to complain of the oppressive conduct of the Portuguese governors, and with further instructions that if he failed to obtain redress at

[1] See *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, edited by the late Mr. W. S. W. Vaux for the Hakluyt Society, 1854, pp. 137 and onwards.

Madrid, he was to cross over to England and Holland to invoke the protection of Queen Elizabeth and the States-general. In this it is easy to see an effect of Drake's visit. The envoy returned in 1584, with nothing but promises. During his absence King Babu was decoyed on board a Portuguese warship by the offer of negotiations, and was carried first to Amboina, whence he was despatched to Goa, but died on the way, not without a suspicion of foul play having been employed to hasten his end. He was succeeded by his son Saïd Berkat, who shortly afterwards treacherously slew at a feast the King of Tidore, his hereditary enemy and a friend of the Portuguese. This event led to a fresh war between the two islands.

In assuming the crown of Portugal, Philip II had promised to administer that country and its colonial possessions separately from his other dominions. It was therefore held to be unconstitutional to send succours to the distressed colonists in the Moluccas from any other quarter than Portuguese India. But as the Governor of Malacca had now for some years been unable to render any effective assistance, the settlers in their difficulties turned for aid to the Spanish authorities at Manila; but the latter were at this period too much occupied with plundering expeditions on the coast of China to pay any attentions to applications for help from private persons.

Before long, however, a new danger made itself felt. The Dutch during their war of independence had gradually built up a powerful navy, which, after the destruction of the "Invincible Armada" in 1588, was more numerous and powerful than that of any other European nation. They had formerly traded to Lisbon for the spices and other eastern produce of which they stood in need, but now the idea suggested itself of despatching their ships direct to the eastern seas to procure these articles on the spot, and thus gain for themselves the enormous profits

hitherto appropriated by the Portuguese. As was the case with the English also, there existed no reason why they should recognise an enemy's claims based only on a Papal bull; and now that Portugal had become part of the dominions of their oppressor the King of Spain, they could proceed to roam the ocean both to the east and to the west, and "spoil the Egyptians" at their convenience.

It was in March, 1599, that the first Dutch ships under Warwijk and Van Heemskerk arrived at Amboina. They made a commercial treaty with the native chiefs, subject to the ratification of the king of Ternate, who was still regarded as suzerain. Heemskerk next visited the Banda group, and having established factories on Lontar and Neira, sailed for Bantam, while Warwijk proceeded for Ternate. There he was cordially received by Saïd Berkat, who desired his help in expelling the Portuguese and subjugating his hereditary foe the king of Tidore. Under these circumstances, Warwijk had little difficulty in obtaining permission to trade. He was allowed to purchase a full cargo of spices, and to leave a factor and six other Dutchmen behind him when he departed, but the question of active assistance to the king in his warlike projects was left for future consideration.

The following year Van Neck visited Ternate, and was eagerly welcomed by Saïd, to please whom he bombarded the Portuguese fort on Tidore. About the same time, Steven van der Haghen, arriving in the Spice Islands, besieged the Portuguese for several weeks in their fort at Ley-Timor, on the north side of Amboina. He left a small detachment of twenty-seven men at Hitu-lama in that island, who were however, re-embarked in 1601 by Cornelis van Heemskerk.

The Portuguese now equipped a large fleet to stop further encroachments of the Dutch, and to punish the native princes who had entered into friendly relations with

them. The intention was that this force should effect a junction with a Spanish fleet fitted out at Manila. André Furtado de Mendoza, who was in command, reached Bantam in December 1601, and after fighting an indecisive action with a Dutch squadron under Wolfert Harmenszoon, sailed for the Spice Islands to join the Spanish fleet. He reached Amboina on February 10, 1602, where he was disappointed in his expectation of finding the Spaniards, but he captured Hitu-lama and laid waste numerous villages. Proceeding northwards by way of Hoamohel, and passing by Ternate, he came back to Tidore, where he anchored on October 10.

Harmenszoon in the meantime had visited Ternate and, giving Furtado a wide berth, reached Banda on March 14; where two months later he concluded a treaty with the native chiefs, by which the latter undertook to sell their produce to the Dutch alone, and both parties bound themselves to help one another in war.

Furtado overran Makyan in October, 1602; and, after establishing a fortified post there, proceeded to the harbour of Talangam, in Ternate, to wait for his Spanish allies under the command of Juan Xuarez Gallinato. The latter arrived in February, 1603; and the combined forces gave battle to King Saïd and shut him up in the fortress of Gamulamu, to which they laid siege. Owing, however, to supplies not having been sent to Furtado, his ammunition gave out, and the siege had to be abandoned, Furtado returning to Malacca, and Gallinato to Manila.[1]

In the beginning of 1605, Steven van der Haghen, who had left Holland in December, 1603, with a fleet of twelve sail, appeared again at Amboina, with instructions to undertake the conquest of the Moluccas. He began by

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[1] P. A. Tiele, *De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel*, Pt. VI, p. 225.

capturing the Portuguese fort of Victoria. Leaving there a garrison of a hundred men, he proceeded to Banda to renew the treaty of 1602, to which the towns of Neira (on the island of that name) and Ortatan (on Great Banda), and the islands of Wai and Rhun acceded. His second in command, Cornelis Bastienszoon, had in the meantime been despatched to attack the Portuguese fort on Tidore. Finding his forces insufficient, he asked and obtained the help of King Saïd of Ternate, which enabled him to achieve success. A shot fell into the powder magazine of the defenders, and blew it up, rendering the fort untenable; and the Portuguese were compelled to capitulate. The Dutch then plundered the inhabitants of Tafasoho on the west side of Makyan, and sailed away, leaving no garrison on Tidore.

A detailed account of the action, and of Sir Henry Middleton's endeavours to establish a trade with the Moluccas, is given in the narrative of his voyage to the East in the *Red Dragon* in 1605. Accompanied by the *Ascension*, he arrived at Amboina on February 12, just before the surrender of Fort Victoria to the Dutch. Being consequently unable to obtain any spices, he determined to go on to the Moluccas, sending the *Ascension* to Banda for nutmegs. Off Makyan he received a visit from some natives, who refused to sell any cloves without the leave of the King of Ternate.[1] The town of Tafasoho belonged to Tidore, the rest of the island to Ternate. Approaching Tidore from the south on March 22, he rescued the King of Ternate and several Dutch merchants from the pursuit of some Tidorian galleys. On learning that Middleton proposed to start trade with Tidore through the medium of the Portuguese, they would have dissuaded him, and

[1] See *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands*, edited by Bolton Corney for the Hakluyt Society, 1855.

finally prevailed with him to go straight to Ternate, where he anchored at the port two and a half leagues off the town (Gamulamu). The King promised to give his subjects leave to sell cloves, and allowed a party of Englishmen to be stationed on shore as the nucleus of an intended factory. He also provided Middleton with a letter to the Governor of his own part of Makyan, so that he should be able to obtain a cargo, in case the Portuguese refused to trade. On the 27th, in accordance with his expressed resolve, Middleton brought his ship over to Tidore, and anchored not far from the fort, where, after some haggling over the price of goods, the Portuguese Governor agreed to let him have some cloves. While cargo was being collected, the Dutch squadron hove in sight, and Middleton made haste to be gone, especially as two Ternatan officers who were on board with him urged his departure for Makyan. Having procured a letter from the King of Tidore for the Governor of Tafasoho, and collected the money due for the cargo sold to the Portuguese, he got away on April 21, passing through the midst of the Dutch squadron during the night, and on the following evening anchored off Gnoffickia (Mofficia in Middleton) on Makyan, where the viceroy of the King of Ternate resided. Here he delivered the letter; but, as no cloves were forthcoming, he proceeded to Tafasoho (Taffasoa), on the other side of the island, a town belonging to Tidore. The Portuguese had a small blockhouse there, occupied by five men. Middleton was well received, but did not obtain any considerable quantity of spices. On May 2 he received a letter from the commandant of the Portuguese fort on Tidore, acquainting him with the burning of two galleons by the Dutch, and entreating him to hasten thither with the five men from Tafasoho, to see the impending fight, and offering to let him have all the stock of cloves in the town. So the next day found him anchored in front of the King of Tidore's

town, in the middle of the Dutch fleet. The attack on the fort began on the afternoon of the 7th, and continued all the 8th and part of the 9th, when the explosion occurred that has already been mentioned. In this action, the Ternatans assisted the Dutch, while the Tidorians fought on the side of the Portuguese. The Dutch Admiral first threatened to hang all the Portuguese; but, through Middleton's intercession, he was induced to spare their lives and let them retire to Manila.

Middleton now applied to the King of Ternate for permission for the establishment of a factory on that island, according to his promise, but was refused on the ground of a previous undertaking with the Dutch that they should have a monopoly of the trade. He therefore weighed anchor again, and proceeded to Ternate, May 21, with the object of removing the Englishmen left behind previously, and bringing away the cloves they had secured. The King followed later. Negotiations proceeded for some weeks; but in the end Dutch influence prevailed, and the King definitely refused to allow the establishment of a factory. In a letter addressed to King James I, which he delivered to Middleton, he said it was only for the present that he yielded to the insistence of the Dutch; but if the English were minded to pay him another visit at some future time, they should be welcome. With this promise Middleton was forced to content himself; and, weighing anchor on June 18, he arrived again at Tafasoho on the 21st. The Governor offered to hand over the town to him, but he was obliged to refuse, having lost a large number of his crew by dysentery. Thus he departed from the Moluccas, and got back to Bantam on July 24.

The Spaniards now undertook operations for the relief of the Moluccas independently of the Portuguese, and in January, 1606, despatched a fleet from Manila. Tidore was captured in March, without striking a blow; and in April

they landed on Ternate to attack Gamulamu. Saïd, finding himself unable to defend the fortress, fled with his men to Gilolo, leaving the island in the hands of the Spaniards; but, being induced by them to return, was seized and carried off to Manila. He had left his son Modafar behind at Gilolo; and the people of Ternate, fearing they would never see Saïd again, declared Modafar his successor, and began to arm.

In the beginning of 1607, Matelieff the younger anchored with six ships at Bantam, where he heard that envoys from the Ternatans had shortly before been there to invoke the assistance of the Dutch. Following them to Amboina, he overtook them at Fort Victoria, and sent them on ahead to Gilolo with a friendly message to Modafar. He himself reached Ternate on May 10, but finding the Spaniards there and at Tidore too strong for him, he contented himself with entering into a treaty of alliance with the Ternatans. By this instrument the Dutch were to have a post at Maleyo, on the north side of the island, placing there a garrison of thirty to forty men, while the Ternatans recognised the suzerainty of the States-General and undertook to defray all expenses. The whole crop of cloves was to be sold to the Dutch, at a price to be fixed afterwards by mutual agreement. Having placed the new fort of Maleyo in a defensive condition, Matelieff sailed for China. The Spaniards attacked the place soon after he left, but were unable to reduce it.

The year 1608 saw another effort on the part of the English to establish themselves in the Moluccas. In the beginning of January, David Middleton reached the islands in the *Consent*. Purchas goes on to say:

"The rest of this Moneth was spent in entertainments and complements betwixt Ours and the Spaniards, as likewise with the Moluccan Princes. So was the whole Moneth of February also. The reason was, The Spaniards durst not admit vs trade till the Camp Master had giuen leaue. And he in those broyles twixt

him and the Hollanders, except Ours would doe or seeme to doe some piece of seruice, at least accompanying their ships for greater shew (which our Captaine absolutely refused, being against his Commission) excused himselfe. Meanewhile they had priuy trade with the people by night, and were Iouiall and frolicke by day with the Spaniards, which both gaue and receiued kind welcomes. In the beginning of March, they were permitted open trade. But this within few dayes was countermanded, and wee commanded to bee gone. And thus they spent the time till March the foureteene, when they weighed anchor, and set saile. Some trade they had also in the way."[1]

Just when David Middleton was at the Moluccas, Matelieff fell in with Paulus van Caerden, who had sailed with a fresh fleet from Holland in April, 1606, and had wasted much time in vainly trying to reduce the Portuguese fortress of Mozambique and in chasing Portuguese galleons.[2] At Matelieff's suggestion, Van Caerden proceeded to Ternate with ten ships, arriving there May 18. A month later he captured Tafascho on Makyan from the Spaniards ; but in the autumn of the same year he fell into their hands, and was carried a prisoner to Manila.

A powerful fleet under Pieter Willemszoon Verhoeff, with 1,900 men on board, had been despatched from Holland in December, 1607, and on its arrival at Bantam in February, 1609, the Vice-Admiral, François Willert, was detached with four vessels to Ternate, *viâ* Makassar. The instructions of the Dutch East India Company, who expected a truce to be shortly concluded with Spain, were to obtain possession of the clove- and nutmeg-producing islands by treaty or by force before September 1, 1609. Willert reached Ternate on June 22, renewed Matelieff's treaty with the King, established a post on Motir, which he named Nassau, and three months later sailed on a marauding expedition against the Philippines. There he encountered a complete defeat. Two out of the three ships he had

[1] *Purchas*, vol. i, p. 226.

[2] Tiele, *op. cit.*, Pt. VII, p. 79.

with him were captured, with much booty that he had plundered from Chinese junks, and he himself perished.[1] Verhoeff having been murdered by the Bandanese in May had been succeeded by Simon Janszoon Hoen, who got to Maleyo the day after Willert sailed on his disastrous enterprise. In December he conquered Bachian, capturing the Spanish fort in the bay of Amassing,[2] which he renamed Barneveldt. The garrison were put to the sword.

The truce apprehended by the directors of the Dutch East India Company was agreed upon in April, 1609, but in the East it was recognised by neither Dutch nor Spaniards. In November of the same year, Pieter Both was appointed first governor-general of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, with ample powers over all the naval commanders, and complete discretion as to his proceedings. He arrived at Bantam in December, 1610. Affairs at Amboina and Banda occupied his attention for some months, and it was not till the following August that he was able to proceed to the Moluccas. He found the Spanish governor of Ternate[3] unwilling to recognise the truce, on the pretext that he had received no instructions from home, and he was therefore justified in strengthening the Dutch position in the island by the construction of a redoubt at Toluco, near the fort of Maleyo.

Early in the same year an expedition had been fitted out by Juan De Silva, the governor of Manila, with the object of expelling the Dutch from the islands. He carried with him King Saïd, his son, and the other chiefs, to make use of them in winning over the Ternatans to the Spanish side. On arriving off Ternate he found the Dutch had left, but

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[1] Tiele, Pt. VII, p. 108. [2] Saris's "Amasan," p. 27.

[3] In a foot-note to p. 52 of Saris's Journal the editor stated, on the authority of Valentijn, that Don Jeronimo de Silva was appointed Governor of the Moluccas in 1610, but according to P. A. Tiele (in *De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel*) he came there in March 1612, to replace Cristóbal de Ascueta Menchaca.

not having sufficient confidence in the men under his own command, he did not venture to attack Maleyo and Tacomi, and contented himself with reducing two unimportant settlements on Halmahera. With this insignificant result he returned to Manila to recruit more men. His hope that the influence of King Saïd would change the point of view of the Ternatans was destined to be disappointed. Negotiations for a peace were indeed initiated between the Ternatans and the Tidorians, on the basis of a proposal to place Kaitjil Sidang,[1] a son of Saïd's, on the throne, but they came to nothing.

In August, 1612, Both proceeded to Bachian to hasten the construction of the fort there, and passed thence to Makyan, where in January, 1613, he concluded with the chiefs a treaty by which they bound themselves to sell all their cloves to the Dutch at a very low price.[2] Early in February he captured Marieko, on the north-west coast of Tidore, besides destroying another Spanish fort on the same island. Saris speaks of the "new fortres called Maraeco" belonging to the Dutch.

The state of things then at the time of Saris's voyage to the Moluccas was, that the Portuguese had lost everything they once possessed; the Spaniards held a couple of establishments on Tidore and Ternate; while the Dutch dominated over almost all of the rest of the Moluccas.

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[1] This is the person called Key Chillisadang by Saris, and described by him on p. 35 as "the King of Ternates sonne," but on p. 36 as brother of the king; *i.e.*, son of Saïd and brother of Modafar. Kaitjil is the Ternatan equivalent of the Mindanao-Spanish *Cachil*, a prince of the blood royal. From the spelling adopted by Saris, he seems to have confused this title with the Malay *kyahi chilik*, or "little chief," as distinguished from *kyahi âgus*, or 'great chief" (the "keygus" or "keygoose" of p. 5).

It may here be noted that the Key Malladaia whom Saris met at Bachian (p. 26), who had been sent from Makyan by "a man of great account there," is properly called the Kimelaha Daja or Hidajat, described by Tiele (Pt. VII, p. 131) as "an ambitious Ternatan." Kimelaha is a native title (head of a *kampong* or village), Daja his name.

[2] See note to p. 41 of Saris's Journal.

The following table shows the actual position :—

Dutch.	*Spanish.*
On Bachian, Fort Barneveldt.	
„ Makyan, Tafasoho and two other places.	
„ Tidore, Marieko.	Tidore, a fort on east side.
„ Ternate, Maleyo, Tacomi, Toluco.	Ternate, a fort (Gamulamu).

Besides these the Dutch had establishments on Amboina, and a treaty with the Banda group that gave them the monopoly of spices.

VI.—The Voyage from Bantam to Japan.

The *Clove* sailed from Bantam for Japan on January 15, and after calling at Jacatra (afterwards Batavia), where she took in water and other supplies such as the place afforded, passed through the straits of Saleijer, south of Celebes, on the last day of the month. Her course then lay outside Buton to the south, between it and Hegadis Island, and then through the Buton passage ; from near the mouth of Buton straits she steered across towards Buru, and from there northwards to Sula Besi, where Saris communicated with the shore through his Spaniard, who spoke the Ternatan language. On February 24 she anchored at Bachian. At this place Saris found the Dutch established in a fort (Barneveldt) garrisoned by thirty soldiers, married some to native, others to Dutch women. The English commander remained till March 7, negotiating with the native chief for cloves, of which he was not able, however, to procure any. He was promised a supply at Makyan, at a higher rate, however, than was paid by the Dutch ; and he took on board two native pilots for that island.

Weighing from Bachian on March 7, Saris passed out between the main island and Obu, and seems then to have

worked his way through Herberg Strait, anchoring every night. On the 17th he arrived off Poliweri in Makyan, where he managed to procure a small quantity of cloves. The Dutch interfered, however, claiming a monopoly of the export under a treaty recently made with the chiefs of the island; and, being in superior force, were able to prevent the natives from trading to the extent they would have wished.

More than once the English and Dutch were on the point of coming to blows. On April 5 Saris weighed, and proceeded to Tidore, which, as we have seen, was still partly held by the Spaniards, the Dutch having established themselves at Marieko, a fort recently captured by them. The Spaniards treated Saris with greater civility than he had received at the hands of the Dutch, but no business in cloves was permitted, and on the 13th the English vessel pursued her voyage. After communicating at Ternate, without gaining anything but compliments, Saris finally resolved to make for Japan. He had managed to secure in all 3,690 lbs. of cloves.

After lying at an island, which he calls Doy, from April 22 till May 12, to take in wood and water, he sailed once more, bound for Japan. Since leaving Bantam ten out of a crew of eighty-one persons had died, two having been drowned in landing at Doy, and one killed by the fall of a tree.

On June 2 Saris sighted land, which he took to be the Res Magos of Linschoten's map (the Miyakojima group of modern geography). What he really saw was probably the Great Loochoo. From this point he seems to have steered northwards along the west of the chain of islands extending up to the south of Japan; then altering his course a little, he ran past the Koshiki group and the great island of Amakusa, and looked into the Straits of Arima. Off Nagasaki he fell in with some Japanese fishermen, two

of whom he engaged for thirty dollars and their food to pilot the *Clove* into Hirado, where they finally arrived on June 12.

VII.—Hirado; its previous History as a Commercial Port.

It was no mere accident that led the first Europeans who visited Japan to fix upon Hirado as their head-quarters. From a very early period, which perhaps may be placed at the end of the sixth century, when intercourse between Japan and China began to assume something of a regular complexion, the ordinary route of envoys and traders from the Japanese capital was by way of Hakata in Chikuzen, Hirado, and the Goto group to Ningpo and Wênchow. And after diplomatic relations between the two countries ceased, at the end of the ninth century, commerce still followed that line, Hakata continuing to be the main *entrepôt* for Chinese goods. In the thirteenth century, when the Mongols twice endeavoured to invade Japan, Hirado was the first point of attack. After the victorious expulsion of the invaders, the Japanese in their turn sallied forth and harried the coasts of Corea and China, and, as was the fashion of the time, combined plunder with peaceful commerce. In the early part of the sixteenth century, Chinese smugglers and traders to Luçon, Annam and the Malay Peninsula resorted to Hirado, where their leader, one Wang Chih, established a factory, and joining to himself a band of enterprising Japanese, pursued his operations on a large scale.

Besidés the northern route to China, there was a second from Bō no Tsu, a port at the extreme south-west corner of the province of Satsuma, by way of the Loochoos to the provinces of Fuh-kien and Kwang-tung. This latter,

however, was suited for the local supply of southern Kiushiu alone.

Without going into the question whether Japan was first discovered by Fernan Mendez Pinto and his companions, or by the other three Portuguese whom Maffei mentions on the authority of Antonio Galvão, this much seems certain, namely, that the first European navigators approached it from the south. The Japanese belief is that Bō no Tsu was the first port visited in 1541, and that two years later Anjirō, the Japanese refugee afterwards known as Paulo de Santa Fè, shipped from here with Jorge Alvarez, a Portuguese navigator, to Malacca, where he eventually met St. Francis Xavier. In the opinion of the Japanese writer[1] mentioned in the footnote, it was by the advice of the Chinese smuggler, Wang Chih, that the Portuguese removed their commercial establishment to Hirado. Merchants were found residing there by Xavier, when he passed through on his way from Kagoshima to Kiōto. In the missionary letters mention is made of Portuguese vessels at Hirado in 1555. Four years later one anchored there, while another visited Agune (or Akune) on the north-west coast of Satsuma. Later on in the same year, a ship is spoken of as being at Tomari, a port near Bō no Tsu. Difficulties arose between the Daimiō of Hirado and the missionaries, who gladly accepted an offer from Ōmura Sumitada, the Daimiō of Ōmura, to grant them the revenues of the port of Yokose, and a territory extending two leagues into the surrounding country; and some of the Portuguese captains were persuaded to anchor there. Still they sometimes resorted to Hirado; and in 1565 we read of an attack made on a Portuguese vessel that had anchored at Kawachi (or Kōchi), a few miles south of the town. In the same year we find Don João Pereira at

[1] Suganuma, *Dai Nihon Shō-giō-shi* (Commercial History of Japan), p. 286.

Fukuda, a small port outside the entrance to the bay of Nagasaki. He had refused, at the request of the missionaries, to go to Hirado, and avoided Yokose because civil war was raging in the neighbourhood. Fukuda continued to be the port until about 1571, when the missionaries having settled at Nagasaki under specially favourable conditions granted to them by the owner, a vassal of Ōmura Sumitada, shipping began to resort thither also. This was a much larger and more convenient anchorage than any of those hitherto visited. It may be noted that the original name of the spot was Ōura, and that it was called Nagasaki after the surname of the owner. At the time the missionaries settled there, it was only a tiny hamlet inhabited by a few fishermen. Other places visited by Portuguese ships from time to time were Shiki, in the western island of Amakusa, and Kuchinotsu, on the south of the Shimabara promontory; but Nagasaki remained the headquarters of commerce. In 1587, however, a vessel was forced to winter at Hirado, owing to the disturbances in the neighbourhood of Nagasaki, and the latter place was taken away from the missionaries that same year by Hideyoshi, who made it an imperial port and appointed a Governor. The Spaniards came to Hirado for the first time in 1580, so that the trade was divided between two centres; but some twenty years later, the trade having declined, they finally abandoned the place.[1]

The Chinese had traded at Nagasaki from the same period as the Portuguese, and it is evident from both Saris's Journal and Cocks's Diary that they were still there during the whole of the continuance of the English factory at Hirado, having also establishments at the latter place. Suganuma is of opinion[2] that they were restricted to

[1] Suganuma, *Hirado Bōeki-Shi* (History of the Trade at Hirado), p. 40.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Nagasaki from the same time as the Dutch (1641), but, up to 1688,[1] they were allowed to lodge freely in the town wherever they chose. After that date they were confined to an enclosure close to the Dutch settlement of Deshima.

The following notes have been taken from Dr. Nachod's work, quoted below.

The Dutch East India Company had acquired early information about Japan from Linschoten, whose great work, entitled *Voyage ofte Schipvaert van Jan Huygen van Linschoten naer Oost ofte Portugaels Indien*, was published at Amsterdam in 1596. Linschoten returned to Holland in 1592, but he had been preceded in 1590 by Dirk Gerritszoon, a Dutch navigator in the Portuguese service, who probably was the first to furnish details respecting the Portuguese commerce in Japan, and the sailing routes thither. Be this as it may, the first attempt of the Dutch to get to Japan was made by a fleet of five ships under the command of Jacques Mahu, which sailed on June 27, 1598, with instructions to take their way through the Straits of Magellan and across the Pacific. William Adams, an Englishman, was sailing-master on board the *Hoop*; but he must have changed over to the *Liefde*, since that seems to have been the only one of the five that reached her destination. What the difficulties of navigation were in those days may be appreciated from the fact that the fleet arrived at the Straits in April, 1599, but did not accomplish the passage till August 24.[2] The ships were shortly afterwards separated by a storm, and the *Blyde Boodschap*, on board of which was Dirk Gerritszoon, was captured by the Spaniards at Valparaiso. The *Trouw* reached the Moluccas, where she fell into the hands of the Portuguese. The *Geloof* returned through the Straits,

[1] Nachod, *Die Beziehungen der Niederländischen Östindischen Kompagnie zu Japan im 17-ten Jahrhundert*, p. 399.

[2] Adams, writing in October, 1611, gives the dates as April 6 and September 24.

falling in with another fleet under Olivier van Noort, and returned to Holland in July, 1600. The *Hoop* and *Liefde* quitted the coast of Chile on November 27, and the former was never heard of again, after she was separated from her remaining consort by a storm in North latitude 28°, on February 23, 1600; while the *Liefde*, with only twenty-four survivors out of a crew of 110, proceeding on her voyage alone, came in sight of the coast of Japan on April 19. She anchored about a league off the capital of Bungo, now called Oita, in Beppu Bay, North latitude 33° 15′. Out of the twenty-four, six died in a short time. Adams and one of the sailors were sent for by Iyeyasu, who was then at Osaka,[1] while the ship was brought up to Sakai, the nearest seaport. After a prolonged detention Adams was allowed to return to the ship, which, after a further delay, was ordered round to the Bay of Yedo, in all probability to the little port of Uraga at the entrance. The ship was made prize of, and the crew detained in the country.

The first news of the shipwreck was brought home by Olivier van Noort in August, 1601, who, on January 3 in that year, falling in with a Portuguese captain of a junk at Borneo, learnt from him that a large Dutch vessel of 250 tons had been cast away in Japan, which belonged to Steven Verhagen's company of adventurers. Two of the shipwrecked mariners, Jacob Janszoon Quaeckernaecq and Melchior van Santvoort, having gained the favour of Matsura Hōin, daimiō of Hirado, in some way unknown to us, were furnished by him with a junk in which they arrived at Patani on December 2, 1605, whence the former joined the squadron of Cornelis Matelieff engaged in blockading the

[1] He had been there since early in the year, but started on July 26 for Yedo, arriving there August 10. He stayed till the 29th of that month, and then started on an expedition against Uyasugi, the daimiō of Aidzu. These dates may be useful for comparison with Adams's account of Iyeyasu's movements, as given in Letter I of Rundall's *Memorials*.

Portuguese possession of Malacca, in August, 1606. Quaeckernaecq delivered the letter with which he had been provided by the "King of Japan" (Iyeyasu), was appointed captain of the *Erasmus*, and lost his life in a sea fight with the Portuguese in October; while Melchior van Santvoort returned from Patani to Japan, where he seems to have settled at Nagasaki. He is mentioned by both Saris and Cocks in their diaries. Matelieff, after beating the Portuguese, pursued his voyage to China, and in September, 1607, met at Shang-ch'uan some Japanese pirate junks, by the captain of one of which he sent a message to Hirado to the effect that in three years time he hoped to visit Japan. In February, 1608, Victor Sprinckel, the commercial agent at Patani, wrote to Iyeyasu in reply to a letter brought by Quaeckernaecq, explaining that the Dutch losses in the above-mentioned sea-fight rendered it impossible for the present to send any ships to Japan. At the same time he wrote to Adams, enclosing a copy of his letter to Iyeyasu, begging him to lay it with some trifling presents before Iyeyasu, and sent the whole by the hand of Van Santvoort, who in the meantime had again arrived at Patani. Nothing further happened till two of the ships that had sailed from Holland in December, 1607, under Pieter Willemszoon Verhoeven were detached at Johore for the voyage to Japan. These were the *Roode Leeuw met Pijlen* and the *Griffioen*. Calling at Patani, whence they sailed again on June 1, 1609, with the south monsoon, they arrived before Nagasaki on July 1, and the same evening reached Hirado, or rather Kōchi (in the map entitled "Geological Survey of Japan, 1894" spelt Kawachi), whence they were towed into the harbour of Hirado a few days later. The supercargoes left on July 27, bearing a letter to Iyeyasu from the Prince of Orange, and accompanied by Van Santvoort as interpreter. They made a speedy journey to Court, where they had no difficulty in

obtaining permission to trade, and to build a residence and warehouses. Iyeyasu furnished them with a reply[1] to the Prince of Orange's letter, in which he promised these privileges, together with a license[2] or pass in duplicate

[1] Suganuma, *Hirado Bōeki-Shi*, p. 46. The following is a translation :—

"The lord of Japan, Minamoto Iyeyasu, in reply to His Highness the lord of Holland. On opening and reading the letter which has been sent from afar, it was as if I were close before your high countenance, and I am moreover exceedingly pleased with the four sorts of productions which you have presented to me.

"Of the commanders, under-officers and numerous soldiers of the fighting ships that have been sent by your honoured country to foreign regions, some have arrived at the port of Matsura in my country. That there may be peace and a firm compact with my poor country is my earnest desire also. If the countries are alike animated, what objection is there to annual visits, although they are separated by a thousand, nay ten thousand, leagues of sea and land? In my poor country we correct the wicked and make them good. Therefore, the merchant-visitors who cross the seas all dwell here in peace. You may send your honoured country's sailors* to my country, and ground to build houses on and the port to which the vessels shall come shall be as your honoured country chooses. Henceforth we will keep up the relations of neighbours. The rest I commit to the captain to report verbally. The time is when the remaining heat of the autumn sky is severe. Take care of your health. In haste. 25 day of the 8th moon of the 14th year of Keichō, 46th year of the sexagenary cycle."

[2] It is not easy to give a close rendering of the license, of which a *facsimile* is given at the end of the English translation of Kaempfer's *History of Japan*, vol. i. He assigns the date 1611, but the Japanese date in the document corresponds to 1609. Perhaps the following is as near to the original as it is possible to go :—

"When a Dutch ship traverses the sea to Japan, whatever port it may arrive at, there shall be no difference. Henceforth, observing this, they may go and come, and there shall be no feeling of estrangement. Wherefore, as above. 25th day of 7th moon of 14th year of Keichō.

"To Chakusa Kurunheike."

In spite of Dr. Nachod's objection that Jacques Groenwegen was killed by the people of Banda on May 22, and that consequently the document could not be addressed to him, I think it clear that his is the name here attempted to be written in *hiragana* characters. The sloop that brought the instructions to the two vessels to proceed to Japan met them at Johore on May 4, and that was the last news they

* Suganuma reads the Chinese characters thus rendered as if they were to be pronounced *shinnioro*, but it is more likely that they represent the Dutch word *matroos*.—*Hirado Bōeki-Shi*, p. 46.

under his broad seal, conveying the necessary permission to enter all Japanese ports without let or hindrance. Armed with these documents they returned to Hirado, and leaving there Jacques Specx as Cape merchant, with three assistants and a boy, and a small stock of merchandise, they set sail for Patani, which they reached on October 30. The subsequent history of the Dutch factory at Hirado may be read in Dr. Nachod's above-mentioned work.

VIII.—Saris's Stay in Japan.

Saris was heartily welcomed by Matsura Hōin, the ex-daimiō ("King") of Hirado, who, as the Japanese custom was, continued to direct the government of his fief, although his grandson ("the young King") was nominally in power. They both came on board the *Clove* as soon as she anchored at Kōchi, below the town, and were on board again the following day. Saris at once wrote to William Adams, who was then at Yedo, and Hōin undertook to have the letter forwarded without delay. No difficulty was made about the English obtaining a house on shore, and they eventually rented one from the head of the Chinese factory for 95 dollars for the six months. This man, whose name was Andrea Dittis, was no doubt a Christian. Presents were given to Hōin and his grandson worth 340 dollars, besides others to the value of 160 dollars, which were divided between the brother and great-uncle of the latter. To five of the leading officials gifts worth about 190 dollars in all were distributed.

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had from the rest of the fleet. The envoys were therefore ignorant of his death, and there is consequently no reason why they should not have given his name as that of the proper person to whom the license should be addressed.

The inscription on the seal reads, "Minamoto no Iyeyasu practices sincerity in reciprocity."

At last, on July 29, Adams arrived, having been seventeen days on his way from Sumpu, where the ex-Shōgun Iyeyasu was then residing. Saris offered him the hospitality of the English house, but he preferred to lodge by himself in a Japanese house, whither he would not suffer anyone to accompany him. It appeared to Saris that Adams was more or less Japanese in his sentiments, and that he preferred the company of Dutchmen or Spaniards to that of his own countrymen. After considerable delay, arrangements were made for Saris's visit to Court, and presents were chosen for Iyeyasu, the Shōgun Hidetada, and the more important state officers, amounting in all to about 720 dollars. The King lent a galley rowed by forty men, and the mission got away from Hirado on August 7. Saris took with him ten Englishmen and his Japanese linguist, besides Adams and his two Japanese followers, and the King provided an escort of an officer and three men. Besides these there was a pike-bearer, "according to the custome of the countrye." The voyage along the coast of Kiushiu and through the Inland Sea to Osaka occupied twenty days. From here the English proceeded up the river by boat to Fushimi, where a palanquin carried by six men, and a led horse, were provided for Saris. Travelling at the rate of about twenty-eight miles a day (Saris says fifteen or sixteen leagues of three to a mile, "as we ghessed it"), they reached Sumpu on September 6. On the 8th he had his audience of Iyeyasu, to whom he delivered King James's letter and the presents, and on the following day he visited Honda Kōdzuke no suke, who refused to receive any gift beyond a few pounds of aloes. To Honda he presented a memorandum of the privileges which he desired to obtain for the East India Company, but was told to "abbreviate" it. This shortened memorandum was sent in through Adams on the 10th (a translation of the Japanese version reproduced in Purchas will be found in a

later section of this Introduction), and was approved by Iyeyasu. It appears that the grant was intended to contain an article permitting the English to bring their Chinese prizes into Japanese ports and there dispose of the cargoes, and Saris says that this article was disallowed ; but there is no trace of it in the Japanese document. Neither is there of the request for a pass to proceed to the discovery of Yezo, mentioned in the copy of the petition in the *Cotton Charters*, which has been published by Professor Riess (see p. lxxx). It can only be concluded that the Japanese linguist employed to write out the translation omitted the latter and that the former was never put in writing at all, even in the English document.

The business of the mission having been thus placed on a satisfactory footing, Saris left for Yedo at noon on the 12th, arriving there two days later. On the 17th he had an audience of the Shōgun Hidetada, and delivered his presents. On the 21st he accompanied Adams to Uraga, a small harbour at the entrance to the Bay of Yedo, near where Adams possessed an estate that had been granted to him by Iyeyasu. It appears that the latter had expressed a desire to see the English settle in Yedo, and in that case Uraga would have been the first port at which the English ships would touch. A similar suggestion had before been made to the Dutch, but they had preferred to establish themselves at Hirado. Saris, in the version of his journal printed by Purchas, expresses himself as in favour of this arrangement: the only drawback to Uraga in his opinion being that Uraga was "not so well replenished with victuall and flesh-meat" as Hirado (p. 136). But, on his return to Hirado, it was decided to remain there, as the factory had already been established in that centre. Probably it would have been wiser to fall in with the proposal of Iyeyasu ; and doubtless Adams would have served the East India Company more zealously, if he had been able to live close

to his Japanese wife and children, instead of having to reside at the other end of Japan.

On the 25th they left Uraga, and arrived back at Sumpu on the 29th. On October 8 Saris received Iyeyasu's answer to King James, and also the privileges (translations of both are given in the concluding section). He left Sumpu on the following day, and was a week travelling to Miako (Kiōto), where he waited three days for Iyeyasu's present to King James, which consisted of five pairs of folding screens (biōbu). After spending two days and a half at Osaka, he embarked there, and reached Hirado on November 6.

A long account by Cocks of what had passed at Hirado during the absence of Saris, taken from Purchas, is inserted in the journal at this place.

Iyeyasu had been prevailed upon to give Adams leave to return to England ; and, in accordance with his instructions, Saris offered him a passage home on board the *Clove*. This, however, he declined, the ostensible reason given being that he wished to remain " for a certein tyme to get somthing, hauing hetherto spent his tyme soe many yeares in vayne, and wold not now goe home with an emptie purse."[1] In a letter from Adams to the East India Company, written about this time, he says, however : " The reason I would not go with him wass for dyuers injerues doun against me ; the which were thinges to me veri strang and vnloked for, which thinges [to] write I ceass, leuing it to others to mak rellaccion thereof."[2] In another letter, dated December 1 of the same year, Adams writes : " Your woourship shall vnderstand I had thought to a coum hom in the *Cloue*, but by som discovrtissis offred me by the

[1] *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. i, p. 311 ; Rundall's *Memorials*, p. 68.

[2] *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. i, p. 324 ; Rundall's *Memorials*, p. 68.

Generall, changed my mind; which injuries to wryt of them I leaue; leauing to others, God sending the ship hom, to mak rellacion."[1]

What these injuries were is partly to be gathered from Saris's Journal. A few days after his return, "it was certanely proued that Mr. Addams his man, which was our Jurebassa and Cater for the howse, did most vnresonably cozen vs, and in one parcell of wyne bought for the howse gott 21 masse;" and on the following day "in frindly mannor I [Saris] acquanted Mr. Addams in the presents of Mr. Cocks of his mans dishonnest and villanus dealing, being put in trust and to cheate vs so vnresonable. He tooke it verye evell that his seruant should be so thought of, and so hiely took his part as by the perswatyon of Mr. Cocks I did not saie further, but gaue order to Mr. Cocks to lett him goe no more to markett for vs, this not being the first by many tymes, as Mr. Cocks tells me, he hath found him fautye therein (p. 180)."

In addition to this Saris tells us that in settling with Adams for money advanced during the journey to and from Court, and for goods bought at Uraga, Cocks insisted on reckoning in Japanese money, instead of paying Adams in dollars, with an allowance of five per cent. for exchange. Whether there were any other unpleasantnesses between Adams and Saris there is nothing to show. Saris did not like Adams, as is evident from various passages in the Journal; while in the memorandum of instructions left with Cocks he says Adams was more "affected" to the Flemings and Spaniards than to his own countrymen, and pretty plainly implies that he could not be trusted to have the disbursing of the Company's money.[2] Still, it would seem that the "injuries" alluded to by Adams must have been committed after the departure of the mission from Sumpu.

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[1] Rundall's *Memorials*, p. 76; *Letters Received*, etc., vol. i, p. 331.
[2] *Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 6.

Seeing that Adams had a wife and children in Japan, and that he had already lived in the country for some thirteen years, it may not unreasonably be supposed that he did not greatly care to return to England. It is true he had by dint of earnest solicitation obtained leave from Iyeyasu to quit Japan ; but in the letter to the Company in which he describes this scene, he wrote that as he was taking leave, Iyeyasu said that if he did not think of going that year, he should wait until another ship came, and go when he liked.[1] If he had any intention at that time of going to England with Saris, he would not have accompanied him to Hirado, but would have returned back to his home near by Uraga to put his affairs in order. There is no trace of his having tried to get a passage home in any of the English ships between this date and his death in May, 1620, so that he was probably not greatly desirous of leaving Japan.

There is nothing to surprise us in this. He was not the only one of the mariners of the *Liefde* that settled in Japan. What he gained from Iyeyasu was his liberty to go or stay as he liked, and to devote himself to the pursuit of his own personal interests, instead of working as the employé of the Shōgun.

Negotiations between Saris and Adams for the entry of the latter into the service of the East India Company took only a few days, and were terminated by the signature of an agreement[2] on November 24, by which he bound himself to serve until the return of the next ship or ships after news should come of the arrival of the *Clove* in England, at the rate of £100 per annum.

On November 26, Saris assembled a council at which it was resolved to establish a factory at Hirado (instead of in the east of Japan), and that the staff should consist of

[1] *Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 323.
[2] Rundall's *Memorials*, p. 73 ; *Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 310.

eight Englishmen, three Japanese interpreters, and two servants. Richard Cocks (whose *Diary*, edited by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, has been already published by the Hakluyt Society) was appointed Captain and Cape Merchant, the others being William Adams, Tempest Peacock, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edward (or Edmund) Saris, and William Nelson.

IX.—Saris's Voyage Home, and his Reception by the Company.

The *Clove* started from Hirado on her homeward voyage on December 5. Before leaving, Saris signed a memorandum of instructions for Cocks,[1] in which, as already mentioned, he speaks unfavourably of Adams. Cocks came on board, with the members of the factory, to say good-bye; and after they had taken their leave the ship's company was mustered. It consisted of 46 English, 5 blacks, and 15 Japanese; besides these there were three passengers. The *Clove* steered for the coast of China, intending to make it near Ningpo, but no land was seen till she sighted the Pescadores in the Formosan Channel. She then picked up the island of Shang-ch'uan, near Macao, known as the spot where the Apostle of the Indies breathed his last, and thence steered south-west across the Gulf of Tonquin to Cape Varella. From there she coasted along Cochin China, as far as Pulo Condor, crossed the Gulf of Siam, and hit off the Malay Peninsula not far from the River Pahang, passed the strait between Banka and Billiton, and arrived at Bantam on January 3, 1614. Here Saris remained nearly six weeks, loading his ship with pepper, and setting

[1] Printed in *Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 5.

the affairs of the factory in order. On February 13 he notes in his journal that the *Clove* "got out of the straights of Sunda," and on May 16 she anchored in Table Bay, finally reaching Plymouth on September 27. While at anchor here he wrote a report on the commodities which could be disposed of in Japan. A copy of this is printed at the end of the journal, along with another written from Table Bay, "to the Captain Generall of the English appoynted for Japann," and delivered to the captain of the *Concord* there.

The following transcripts[1] from the Court Minutes of the East India Company complete the history of the "voyage:"—

August 19, 1614.—"Mr. Gouernor entendinge to take the ayre for a seuenight in the Countrie acquainted them with his intents to send a letter to bee lefte at Sandwich for Captain Sayris to bee delyuered vnto him soe soone as hee shall arriue in the Downes, To admonishe him to preuent the makinge away of any goods from aboard either by his maryners or any others vntill God shall send them vp to London, The Coppie of which letter beeinge red was approued and ordered to bee deliuered to some one of the Farmours[2] men, whoe shall be appointed to goe aboard and haue an Eye to the buysines in person."

September 30, 1614.—"Twoe letters were red sent from Plymouth by Captaine Sayris dated the 27th of this instaunte, signifieinge his arryuall in the Sound, enforced thereunto through Contrarie wyndes, his desires and intents beeinge to haue made his passage directlie for the Downes: Butt beeinge nowe there he purposed to leaue such of his weake people on shore as would desire the same and furnishe himselfe with fresh Marryners there, which hee hoped to effect very speedilie by the assistaunce of one Mr. Coliuer, a marchant there, whoe had promised to furnishe him with all things necessarye. And then he certified his resolution to take the first oportunitie to hasten from thence and nott to putt foote ashore vntill hee had brought the shipp aboute."

A letter was also read from "Mr. Abraham Colyuer," promising to furnish the ships with necessaries and charge the same to the Company by bills of exchange.

"Mr. Gouernor acquainted them likewise with twoe other

[1] Furnished by Mr. Foster.

[2] Farmers of the Customs.

letters written by Captaine Saris to his brother George Saris and his Cosen [ ] Sayris of the Custome house, wherein he wisht his brother to hasten vnto him to Grauesend and send a close loyter [lighter] doune and to bringe twoe trustie watermen downe with him, mentionynge some other letters sent by him by Richard Dale, one of his Masters mates, whoe departed from Plymouth the daie before the poste that brought these letters; which gaue the Companie greate cause to suspect that Cap^tne^ Sairis had vsed very greate priuate trade for himselfe and purposed to conveye away his goods out of the shipp, howsoeuer hee pretended a showe of readines and willingnes to putt them all into Mr. Gouernours hands."

It was resolved, therefore, to send two of the "Committees" [Directors] to the Downs to board the vessel and remain on her; to solicit the help of the Customs officials, to prevent private trade being brought ashore; and, in order to intercept the private letters, to send one official to "attend at the Starre in Bredstreete, the place where Westerne men doe resorte," and another "to goe and staie at the postmasters house by Charinge Crosse, whither yt is supposed hee maye come by post horse."

"Mr. Gouernor acquainted them that in this letter sent vnto him, Cap^tne^ Saris challengeth a promise formerlie made by Mr. Gouernor of giueinge him leaue to haue a lodginge in his house. And therefore desired to knowe their opinions what they thought best to bee done therein, whether to entertaine him into his house or noe, hee supposinge that beeinge with him in priuate in his house hee shall haue the better oportunitie to drawe from him more then otherwise he is like. Butt some aduised Mr. Gouernor to forbeare to Countenance him in that manner for his owne creditts sake, because of the ymputation that will bee cast vpon him, in reguard of the extraordinary fauor which the generalitie doe suppose hee beareth vnto him and will beare him out, howsoeuer hee hath demeasned himselfe; as alsoe to avoied the Clamor out of his hearinge that will bee made by the woemen of Radcliffe against the Captaine at his retourne, whoe will exclaime against him for his rigor vsed against there husbaunds. Mr. Gouernor assured them of his innocencye, that he is farr from vphouldinge him against the Companie in any Acte whatsoeuer and desyreth them to conceyue that opinion of him; yet in reguard of their myndes and the Clamour which (he is of opinion likewise) wilbee made against him, hee is well satisfied to forbeare to shewe any kindnes att all vnto him or to goe downe any parte of the waye to meete with him.

"But some againe on the Contrary alledged that, as yt is not fittinge to grace him too much at first vntill they may be better satisfied hereafter of his carryage, Soe they conceyued yt as vnfittinge and dishonorable to the Company to disgrace him that hath made soe hard a voiage and not wrongd them that they

can iustlie accuse him of; And therefore wisht that his fower yeares seruice should nott be soe slenderlie respected, which may proue as beneficiall a discouery to this Company and land as euer any was made, for ought that can bee yet obiected. And therefore desyred Mr. Gouernor to goe downe to Grauesend or Erith to meete him, seeinge the greatest matter of substaunce that he can be yet taxt for directlie by the Company is that hee hath not certyfied any thinge of his voyage, wherein, although hee hath beene much ouerseene, which they cannot butt hould to bee a greate wronge done, yet not such as doth deserue to disgrace him wholie."

. . . . "The Companie, findinge by Cap^tne^ Saris letters that he receyued good releife from the Concord" determined to instruct their vessels to afford like relief when necessary; a proposal to send a ship yearly to the Cape with provisions for homeward bound vessels (filling in their time with whale and seal fishing) "was held to bee very good."

October 1, 1614.—"Certaine letters were red from Cap^tne^ Sayris written at Sea the 24th of September last and brought by Richard Dale to the same effect which his former were." As, however, in one of them he mentioned the Governor's "aduentures" with Sir Henry Middleton and himself, Sir Thomas Smythe explained that this was not a case of private trade, but had already been sanctioned; for "my Lord Threasurer Salisbury desyringe that the Companie should take a shoppe of his in his Newe Exchange[1] to be furnisht by them with East India Comodities, Mr. Gouernor did effect yt of himselfe and ꝺs at present 300*l.* out of purse for the same; The Companie thereupon gaue way, at Sir Henrie Middletons goeinge, that a matter of 25*l.* in peeces [rials] should bee sent to be disposed in paper, fannes, ynkes [inks] boxes, China dishes and the like comodities for the furnishinge of the said shopp, And by Cap^tne^ Saris there was sent a Crease worth 6 or 7*l.*, which Captaine Keelinge gaue vnto him, beeinge a thinge of noe vse in these parts." This explanation was accepted as quite satisfactory.

The "Committees" going to the Downs were instructed "to aduise and perswade Cap^tne^ Saris to bee contented to submitt himselfe vnto the Companie and to permitt his goods (whatsoeuer he hath) to bee brought vp to Mr. Gouernors house and putt into his possession to bee seene by him and some of the Companie, and they doe promise to deale freindlie and kindlie with him and to vse him so respectiuelie as hee shall haue noe cause to complaine of any hard measure towards him, butt as to one that hath done them good seruice abroad, As they doe vnderstand he did in ladinge pepper vpon the Orelopps after the hold was filde and

[1] "Britains Bourse," opened in 1609; pulled down in 1737. It was on the south side of the Strand, opposite to the site of the present Adelphi Theatre, and ran down to the waterside (W. F.).

puttinge ytt into the bread roomes and some other places as they were emptyed, which is more than ever was done by any others, And good seruice not to bee forgotten."

Ten pounds was paid to the post that brought the first letter from Saris at Plymouth.

300*l.* was sent by the "committies" going to the Downs, to provide necessaries for the ship and to buy the goods brought home by mariners "to preuent their sale to any others for marringe of the marketts here."

October 7, 1614.—"Captaine Sarys beinge much condempned in the carryage of his buysines for that he had not acquainted the Companie with the estate of those partes where he hath bene to discouer, as alsoe in reguard of his supposed priuate trade, Whereupon some propounded to haue him taken out of the shipp and brought vp to London. Butt that was generally distasted, not to disgrace him in that manner, which would soe mayme his reputation as that yt could nott be well salued againe. . . ."

October 10, 1614.—Letters were read, one from the "committees" sent to the Downs, explaining that the rumour of a disaster to the *Clove* had arisen "by reason of a greate Flemynge that suffered shipwrack in those parts;" another from Capt. Saris from Plymouth, of the 3rd Oct., "acquainteing them with the danger he had passed rydinge at Ancour in the greate storme, within the harbour, where yt pleased God their ancours held, whilest a Flemynge was cast awaye; and giuinge them further to vnderstand of the vnrulynes of his men, whoe doe runne ashore and sell their goods notwithstandynge any Comandment or speeches that he can vse, And therefore desyreth to haue one of discretion sent downe that may assist him, by supplyinge the place of a purser for the present to keepe Accompt of what is done."

It was resolved to act accordingly.

October 12, 1614.—A letter was read sent by Wm. Adams from Hirado to Capt. Best at Bantam, bearing date 1st December, describing Saris's entertainment and privileges procured by him.[1]

October 14, 1614.—Resolved, when sending next to Saris, to ask him to forward copy of "such instructions as he framed and sent by the *Concord* for Iapan, as alsoe the coppie of such as he lefte at Iapan and Bantam."

October 18, 1614.—Debate on sending for Saris to come at once overland. This proposal was negatived.

"Mr. Gouernor moued a newe question howe matters should bee carryed att his [Saris's] retourne, and sundrye opinions deliuered, it was thought fittinge to haue him kindlie vsed vntyll some yll carryage of his be certainelie knowne, worthie to bee condempned. And resould [resolved] to entertaine him well vntill

[1] This must be the letter referred to above, p. liv.

hee hath bene with the Kinge and dispatcht all those buysines for the present and complement from the Emperour of Iapan, and although cause bee administred by others to bringe him to his answeare, yett to vse him kindlie, even in his accusation, which will bee a meanes to drawe from him the more.

"And therefore it was aduised to haue such letters pervsde as haue beene already sent, that the same course may bee prosecuted that hath hetherto bene followed, that a trewe decorum maye bee held in their proceedings. And those letters beinge red which had bene sent to Plymouth, they were approued, and held fitt to to proceede peaceablie and fairelie with him, entreatinge Mr. Gouernor to write a letter of salutations and another to perswade his speedie comynge ouerland, as well to satisfie the Companie with some enstructions to bee sent with these pynnaces[1] concerninge their affaires at Iapan, Bantam, and elsewhere, as alsoe in reguard his Ma^tie^ expecteth performaunce of a present from the Emperour of Iapan, the time beinge well neare expired which Mr. Gouernor did signifie vnto his Ma^tie.^

"Butt yf he shall refuse vpon sight thereof to come, then that Mr. Gouernor would write another letter more sharplie comandinge him to come vpp, all excuses sett aparte, which the Comittees may keepe and not showe except they see iuste cause, And soe to conceale all other letters that haue formerlie beene sent vnto the Downes."

The Governor enjoined strict secrecy on all present.

October 25, 1614.—"A letter was red wrytten by Cap^tne^ Sayris the 17^th^ of October, 1614,[2] from Plymouth wherein hee made particuler relation of his buysines at Japan, whatt Comodities are fittinge for that place and what to be expected from thence, with the valution of them, and proffitt thatt maye be made, which gaue some good satisfaction for the present." Another debate took place as to sending orders to Saris at Plymouth to come up to London by land. This proposal was opposed on the ground that his presence on board was necessary to keep the crew in order, and that it would be a pity to give him so tedious a journey at the end of a long voyage. It was accordingly dropped.

Doubts were expressed as to the benefit of "sending comodities directlie from hence [to Japan], supposinge that the benefitt will not awnswere the chardge: But ytt was awnswered that Comodities from Bantam, Siam and other places in the Indies will make good proffitable retournes, and a maine reason for setlinge a trade is for vent of our Cloath, and therefore, seeinge the pynnaces are ready to goe, yt was resolued to lett them goe on and not staie to carry any comodities for those parts, Butt

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[1] Now going out to Bantam.

[2] This letter is given in full at p. 203 of this present volume

rather to haue an other shipp followe after to goe to the Cape with the next fleete" and then direct to Bantam with goods for Japan. Further deliberation was deferred until Saris should arrive in town.

October 26, 1614.—"Captaine Sayris haueinge retourned certaine letters and wryteinges from Plymouth, some of them were nowe red, A coppie of the remembrances left by him at Bantam with the factours at his goinge to Iapan, A coppie of such as were lefte att Iapan with Richard Cocks, Tempest Peacocke, and the rest there, and likewise of some others lefte at Bantam at his comeinge away from thence, And a coppie alsoe of such priuiledges as are graunted by the Emperour of Japon vnto the English for free trade there, beeinge as ample as can be required in that kinde."

November 11, 1614.—Hearing that Saris's brother had started for the Downs, the Company urged their two "committees" to set out also, who promised "to vndertake the jornye againe this Eveninge." Saris was to be directed to come up from the Downs overland as speedily as possible, with his books.

November 12, 1614.—"Cap^tne^ Sayris presented himselfe in Courte, haueinge made his Jornye overland from Plymouth, where hee lefte the *Cloue* in the Sound vpon Twesdaie, finding the wyndes soe contrary as that they had bene putt backe 5 seuerall tymes vpon their settinge forth. And beeinge questiond of the hopes for trade at Iapan, hee acquainted them with sundrie particulers aswell to bee had there as such as are vendible, Mentioninge a blewe stuffe like Indico to bee had in greate quantitie, butt a patterne thereof forgotten to be brought, beeinge hard as a stone. Much Cambogium.[1] Cloath sould of 14*li.* per Cloth for 4*li.* the twoe flemish Elles, But yett not fullie knowne what worth it is of, for wante of tyme at his comeinge awaye, They affectinge that which is lowe shorne and best sett forth to the Eye, which may best bee preserued in thinne sheete leade, to put some of yt betwixt the foulds the better to presse the same. Yellowe Wood that is brought from Siam is in greate request there and sould in greate abounddaunce for readye money. And alsoe skynnes[2] that are much [requested ?] in those parts. And to approue the worth of the said wood, he instaunct that Lucas Anthewmes did delyuer some to a Flemynge[3] to bee carryed to Iapan, whoe had promisde twoe for one proffitt at his retourne. Pepper carryed from Bantam will yeald 2 for one there at least. And whatsoeuer is sould there is for currauntes (*sic*) payment in siluer, which beeinge

[1] Gamboge.

[2] Deer-skins long formed an important article of trade from Siam.

[3] See Journal, July 5.

refinde at 4 per Cent may be putt into quoine or barrs, for which any Comodities may bee had at Siam, whereby the scandall for transportinge siluer from hence will bee taken awaye. Giueinge the greater encouragement to that trade, because the voyage is made in 20 daies thether and soe backe againe, takeing the opportunitie of the Mounsonne.

"Yett he found the Dutch very opposite to hinder the English in their proceedings all that ever they might, as well by vndersellinge, contrarye to their promyse, at by all other meanes of discouradgment, makeinge shewe of waunte without any occasion.

"Captaine Sayris delyuered his opinion likewise that at Tahanye[1] in the Molluccaes a trade may bee beaten out for Cloues with two shipps which will bee able to oppose the Flemynges, haueinge the consent and affection of the people of the Countrye, whoe proferd him all kind welcome vntyll they were discouered by the Flemyngs and dryuen awaye.

"And gaue satisfaction for sundrie other particulers demanded, as well for his remainders att Iapan as Bantam, a particuler whereof hee brought with him. But because the factours att Bantam had made sundrie debts, contrarye to his directions, some desperate and some good, he therefore wisht that they should bee warned not to trust debts vpon their owne heads.

"Assuringe them that there is noe doubt to bee made of any force that the Spanyards can offer att Bantam or elswhere, yf men keepe from vnder their forts; Neither are they able to offer any violence against our shippinge in any place, if men be prouident."

November 14, 1614.—The question whether the "Committees" in the Downs should return at once was left for them to decide (the ship was in the charge of the master).

A letter was received from Plymouth from Walter Peyton, dated November 8, complaining that William Russell, Anthony Feirs, Henry Hemmings and Mortimer Preddye had quitted the ship.

A debate took place whether the Japan trade was likely to be worth following up. "Whereupon Cap^tne^ Sayris made particuler relation of sundrye Comodities that place doth affoard and the proffitt that is like to bee raisde by some others carryed thether, As well pepper from Bantam, which will yeild twoe for one, As rawe silke, whereof there cannot bee too much carryed, Brasill wood and skynns from Siam, all which will yeild present siluer, which may be refinde att 4 per Cent. loss, and with that any Comodities may be bought at Siam and Patania and of the China Iuncke[s]; which by a second retourne to Japan will yeild 3 for one, with which syluer pepper or any other comodyties may be bought att Bantam for good proffitt to be retourned for England.

[1] Tihane, on the island of Makyan.

"An other Argument was vsed to perswade, That the Flemyngs haue bestowed 1500*li.* ster[ling] at least vppon a house there, which should not haue bene done without expectation of good proffitt, and haue reaped greate gaine to themselues. And therefore, seeinge a factory is already lefte there and the Countrye very rich and populous, there needeth noe doubt to bee had butt good trade may bee made. Whereuppon they haueinge weighed all reasouns, as well to perswade as disswade, were absolutelie of opinion that the place is very hopefull and necessary to bee nowe seconded with one of these pynnaces,[1] which, cominge to Bantam in Iune, may bee ready to take the Monsonne from thence to Iapan; and therefore resolued to haue one of them to bee appointed thether with some Comodities fittinge that place.

"And being satisfyed from Captaine Sayris what Cloath and Colours are best requested there, they resolued of sendinge some fewe accordinge to the tyme and meanes of stowinge them, resoluing to haue 20 prouided, Stametts, Browne, Blewes, and Blacks, made vp in halfe Cloathes and packt vp in fyue packs with thinne sheete leade. . . .

"And hearinge by Cap^tne^ Sairys that stone potts are much requested there, It was held fitt to send some for a tryall, And therefore entreated Mr. Middleton to take Captaine Sayris with him to the house in Southwarke where they bee made or any other place where they can find them, to make choise of the fashions, And lett a chestfull be packt vpp safelie to be sent.

"As alsoe one Barrell of Steele, which Captaine Sairys saith is much requested alsoe. . . .

"And conceyued yt fittinge to haue one of these pynnaces sent away to Iapan, although Cap^tne^ Downton[2] should bee gone thether before they come to Bantam. . . ."

November 23, 1614.—Three sailors were called to account for leaving the *Clove* at Plymouth. One pleaded that he went to visit his parents, who were living near that place. The other two, who had got married, and thus "doubled their follie and offence," produced a letter from the master forbidding their return on board, which they maintained was a discharge. They were remanded till the master should arrive.

December 2, 1614.—The arrival of the *Clove* at Erith was announced. It was resolved to send down hoys to bring up her cargo. "Cap^tne^ Sayris desireth to goe aboard with the Comittees (which they held to be a very reasonable motion, not to be denyed),

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[1] These vessels were the *Advice* and *Attendant*. The former went to Japan (*Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. iii, pp. 111 and 148).

[2] "General" of the 1614 Joint-stock Voyage, commanding the *Gift*, *Hope*, *Hector* and *Solomon*.

And presumeth that he hath done the Company as good seruice as any one, and therefore hopeth that hee shall finde as greate kindnes from them as others haue done, Yet is very well satisfied that whatsoeuer hee hath aboard should bee brought vp to Mr. Gouernours house to bee veiwde, referringe himselfe to their Courtesies."

December 6, 1614.—Hearing that the *Clove* is likely to be at "the Wall" [Blackwall] this night, the Court begged Mr. Governor and some of the Committees to go down "to see bulke broken and appointe some to take care of the buysines aboard."

A General Court (*i.e.*, of the members of the Company) was held the same day. The Governor informed the assembly of the safe return of the *Clove*, "her cheefe ladinge beinge Pepper, with some silks and some other Comodities. The shippe ytselfe beinge retourned well qualyfied, sweete and cleane and a very good shipp, haueinge brought home good store of victualls without any wante vnto the men in the voyage, Although some Aspersions were cast vpon the Cap^tne^ for scantinge of his people, yett yf noe more bee approued then what hath hitherto beene iustifyed, hee did noe more then beseemed a wise and prouident Commander, whoe, knowinge his voyage must necessarylie bee protracted, wisht rather to drawe his men to a reasonable allowaunce at the beginninge by proportioninge them then by contynueinge a full hand to hazard wante and scarcitie at the latter end of his said voyage.[1] And to giue him his due hath performed his voyage to a place vpon discouery not formerlye knowne, where he settled a trade, Capitulated vpon good tearmes with the Emperour of Japan, and lefte a factory there, not without good hopes of proffitt and honour to his Majestie and the English Nation. And retourninge came not on shore at Plymouth duringe the tearme of 6 or 7 weeks, whilest the shipp rode there; which things are the rather enlargd that yf vpon proofe some ymputations that haue been cast vpon him can bee iustified, hee should beare the burthen, Butt yf they shall appeare to haue bene undeseruedlie [*sic*] and to haue proceeded from malicious and scandalous tongues, then that those for whome he hath Aduentured should iustifie him, yf they heare him maligned, and carry a good opinion of him.

"And for the supposition that hath bene had of his priuate trade, he offereth for the Companyes satisfaction to bringe all his goods into there warehouses, and will leaue himselfe to their considerations, to deale with him as they shall thinke fitt.

"And some others delyueringe their opinions wisht, seeinge this Company hath many Enymies, whoe willbee readye to seeke aduantages against them, That therefore they should not be

See p. xxv.

enymies to themselues by condempninge this there Comander in that particuler of Fuller,[1] who, forgettinge himselfe, tooke him by the throate, kickt him and strooke his Comission out of his hand against the Missenmaste, yett he neuer putt him into the Bilbowes, as hath beene falslie suggested. And that he could doe noe lesse then carry a strict haunde over such an vnrulye Company, whoe were growne to a head and were in hazard to haue ouerthrowne the voyage yff they had bene suffered to proceede in their mutinous courses. And yet he was not discouraged, butt performed the voyage, with greate danger, and by those places where neuer any English went before, with honour to his Kinge and Countrye, and hopefull proffit to this Companie hereafter. And therefore held him worthie of his due Comendations.

"Mr. Gouernor made knowne that the Auditours, haueinge Considered of the retourne of this shippe, doe delyuer that the voyage will affoard three for one; soe that whosoeuer haue yett taken out nothinge may haue 3 Capitalls;[2] yf they haue receyued one, then twoe more; and soe proportionablie. . . . ."

December 13, 1614.—It was announced that Saris's goods had all been brought into the Company's warehouses, and that he had delivered a list of them and had offered to sell them to the Company. A debate arose as to his private trade, some alleging that "other private Men haue formerlie done the lyke." Against this it was asserted that he had "brought butt a small matter of spice for the Company and as greate, yf nott a greater, for himselfe in some kinde," and that all this private trading must be put down, "seeinge ytt will bee a meanes to ouerthrowe their voyages hereafter." . . . . "Mr. Gouernor delyuered his opinion that he doubteth priuate trade Cannott bee avoyded by this Companie and is partlie out of hope;" and he pointed out that if dealt with severely in London, future captains would find means to put their goods ashore at Plymouth. In the end a committee of seven was appointed to look into Saris's commission, to see how far he was debarred from private trade: "that yf hee haue deserued well hee maye haue a faire loose; if yll, to vndergoe their censure."

December 16, 1614.—"Some imputacions and aspertions beeinge cast vpon Cap^tne^ Saris for certeine lasciuious bookes and pictures brought home by him and diuulged (as was delyuered), which is held to be a greate scandall vnto this Companye and vnbeseeminge their grauitie to permitte, Mr. Gouernour assured them of his dislike thereof, the rather for that yt was in his howse; and therefore purposed to gett them out of his [Saris's] haunds yf possiblie he could, to bee burnt or otherwise disposed of as the

[1] Master of the *Hector*. See above, p. xxii.

[2] That is, two hundred per cent. profit; but this of course must be spread over four years at least [W. F.].

Company should thinke fitt, or else to free his house of them and him both."

December 20, 1614.—"A note was red which Cap^tne^ Sarys hath procured of some proceedings of the Dutch at the Mollaccaes and which hee desireth may not be much questiond howe he came by them,[1] In the passage whereof there appeareth in them greate hopes of haueinge trade with China, And therefore a good encourragement for this nation to expect and attempt the like courses, by surprizinge their shippinge, which, although the Emperour reguardeth not (as is allegd) yet there may bee hopes of a meanes thereby thatt his people will mutinye against him, for losse of their goods and Men. And supposinge that there may bee many other good obseruacions gathered out of the same they entreated him to procure the rest of the wrightinge to bee translated."

Captain Keeling[2] was ordered to have "some priuate and spetiall direccions" to bring away any of the Dutch merchants "whome hee shall finde willinge and desirous of such a fauour."

The appointed "committees" were requested to meet and settle Saris's business.

"Some of Cap^tne^ Saris Company runninge away from him at Japan, their wyues and freinds demandinge such wages as were due vnto them for their service till the tyme of their departure, The Companie held noe wages to bee due vnto them, haueinge forsaken the shipp, And therefore would not giue way to haue any parte thereof paid vnto any man or woman.

"Mr. Gouernor acquainted this Courte that the skrenes which are sent vnto his Maiestie from Iapan (beinge halfe a score in number) are not so good as some of those which the Company haue, And did therefore wishe that nott aboue 2 or 3 should bee presented to his Maiestie and exchange some of the best of the Companies in stead of them; wherein they desyred Mr. Gouernour to vse his discrecion and to doe therein as he should thinke fitt."

January 10, 1615.—"Mr. Gouernor acquainted them that greate speeches haueinge bene made of certaine bookes brought home by Cap^tne^ Saris, which causde the Companie and Mr. Gouernours house to bee censurde, he hath procured them from Cap^tne^ Saris, and shut them vp ever since, and nowe hath brought them forth that such as haue heard derogatorye speeches vsed vpon the Exchange and elswhere should nowe likewise be eye witnesses of the consuminge them in the fire, which he hoped would giue satisfaccion to any honestlie affected, that such wicked spectacles are not fostered and mayntayned by any of this Companie. And thereupon in open presence putt them into the fire, where they contynued till they were burnt and turnd into smoke.'

[1] Probably these are the notes referred to on p. 25 (W. F.).

[2] He was about to start for the East in command of the 1615 fleet.

January 14, 1615.—Godfrey Keagle, brewer, having lent 30*l.* to one "Kaffar Molikantin," a sailor of the *Clove*, requested payment from his wages. As the sailor had deserted in Japan, the Court declared his wages forfeited; but for pity of "the poore man," the case was referred to two of the Committees to consider of it.

"Captaine Keeling desired to haue such enstruccions from Cap^tne^ Saris as he hath obserued concerninge Iapan, as well of the manners and disposicions of those people as the Marchandizinge or any other obseruacions that hee hath made concerninge those parts. Whereupon they entreated Mr. Hanford to vndertake the care thereof to see them effected, and to procure them from Captaine Sarys, with his Jornall."

January 30, 1615.—"An ould man, one Richard Edens, father of Christopher Edens,[1] preferd his peticion, craued to be releeued with his sonnes wages;" but as the son had deserted in Japan, they held no wages to be due ("as had bene concluded by the Trynitie house in the lyke cases"). "But to releeue the ould man, whoe seemed to bee in necessitie," 40*s.* was given to him out of the poor-box.

January 31, 1615.—Orders were given that Saris should be consulted as to commodities suitable for Japan.

Same day.—Meeting of the special committee, consisting of Sir Thomas Smythe, Wm. Halliday, Robt. Johnson, and H. Hanford. The last reported that he had examined Saris's accounts and found them satisfactory.

"Then proceedinge to the Consideracion of the present buysines, which is the examinacion of his Commission, they finde that nothinge cann be allegd against him, but onelie for his priuate trade, wherein his owne lettres gaue the iuste cause of Jelousie, and the Companie tooke a strict course in sendinge downe, as they did, twoe of the Committees, whoe tooke notyce of whatsoeuer he had, And Mr. Hanford deliuered a note thereof vnto the Companie, And is of opinion that for performance of his voyage and makinge a proffitable retourne, none haue formerlie done better.

"Butt some obieccions were made by reason of his yll carryage towards his people, after such a Tyrannicall manner, as some haue accused him, Whereunto awnswere was made that seeinge others doe not accuse him, there is noe reason for this Companie to prosecute any such matter, seeinge what he did was to doe them service and to punishe some whoe comtempned the Commission and the authoritie giuen him by his maiestie, Butt they ought rather to maintaine him, although he should haue exceeded his authoritie a little, for otherwise yf they themselues shall call their

[1] Apparently an error for "Evans."

Commanders in question for tyrannye, when none others doe stand vp to accuse them, they will terrifie them from executinge due punishment hereafter for any acts that shall bee Committed. And for him, hee hath bene accused of soe many things, but nothinge approued. Soe thatt in conclusion they grewe to this head, to examine his Comission, howe he hath carryed himselfe towards the Companie, and to satisfie themselues concerninge his priuate trade, that haueinge giuen that occasion of suspicion by his lettres (which were intercepted) and many haue taken notice of, That therefore the particulers should be examined, to satisfie both themselues and others, least an ymputacion be cast vpon the Comittees and him, if yt should be lett passe. And therefore resolued and ordered that Mr. Hamersley, whoe hath already taken some paines therin, should examine his priuate trade out of the bookes at the Custome house and make reporte att another meetinge howe hee doth finde such things, that an end may be made one way or other, hee himselfe supposinge that he hath had much wronge to be vsed thus hardlie by the Companie, more then ever any others haue bene heretofore, and that they doe beginne with him to make him the first president [precedent] of their seueritie, And haue lett others passe that haue nott deserued soe well nor performed such service as he hath done, yf they were ballauncte together."

February 9, 1615.—Special Committee of four (as before).

"This meetinge beeinge appointed to consider further and determyne of Cap^tne^ Sarys buysines, They made question howe those greate number of presennts should be bestowed which were mentioned in his accompt, amountinge to 3000 and od Rialls, which Mr. Hanford (whoe had lookt into the estate of his Accompts) awnswered were partlie bestowed in the Red Sea, vpon the Bashawe at Moha, and partlie att Iapan, which prinnces will expect greate presents whoe are sought vnto, yet whatsoeuer had bene presented was with the factours approbacion.

"They then paste to his priuate trade, taxinge him greatlie for the same, and houldinge him worthie to bee made an example for the same, haueinge straied soe farre beyond his Comission, But his greifes were laid open, whereby he conceyued himselfe much wrongd in that pointe, That whereas many others haue heretofore vsed priuate trade, and in one particuler (late) instance, Mr. Bests was double as much as his, whose voyage brought forth but twoe for one, yet his service was recompenct with a gratificacion, whereas hee himselfe sent home twoe shipps at first, went forth with the third, accordinge to his Comission, past further then ever any Englishman did, with much honour to his Nation, and as greate proffitt to the Aduenturers (if not more) then others formerlie haue done, and yet they cleared and their Actions past ouer, and he onelie censurde more then they all. And whereas many things are supposed and suspected by waye of Circumstaunce,

haueinge noe apparannte proofe but imaginacion, It was therefore wisht to insiste vpon those things onelie which are apparantlie to bee condempned, namelie his priuate trade in himselfe and permittinge yt in others. And hee presentinge himselfe in Courte, was certyfied of his errours by Mr. Gouernour, espetiallie in his priuate trade, which was in the same Comodities the shippe was laden with, which Cannott bee excused, and permittinge yt in others, As some particulers were named, of one John Thompson, whoe sould 2600 waight of pepper at Plymouth (as is said) besides Cloues and Nutmegs, together with some others, Soe that yt is allegd that there was sould 9000 waight of pepper and as much of Cloues. But he vtterlie denyed to haue sould any parte of that greate quantitie at Plymouth, or that any of yt was for his vse: That Thompsons name was but vsed by some whoe coulerd their goods vnder his name: And for his owne particuler, held yt his owne errour that he is otherwise vsed then other men haue heretofore bene, in that he sould them nott away at Plymouth, but put them into their hannds; and confessinge th e tolleratinge yt in his people, to giue them meanes of encouradgment to stand for there owne goods vpon any occasion of necessitie, as well as for the Companie. But beinge taxt for interceptinge and openinge the Companies lettres, he awnswered that yt was after the shipps were departed from the Roade, which he did to bee satisfied of their contents, to frame his voyage and proceedings accordinglie.

"And beeinge questioned in some particulers concerninge Sir Henry Middleton, he certified them thatt Sir Henrie acquainted him, in the Red Sea, that his estate was worth 2000*l.*, but what became thereof, or befell afterwards, he knoweth not. Yet he aduised him there to haue loded the *Trades Encrease* and sent her for England from the Red Sea, where was ladinge enoughe to haue bene had for her, assuringe them that yf yt had nott bene for him and his dissuasions, there had bene pillage made there, which might haue bene an occasion to haue had all seazd vpon here. And after longe debatinge of the buysines, and much time spent, many obiections made and his awnswere retournd, he in conclusion confest his errour in his priuate trade, but expected the like kinde dealinge which others had found, haueinge alwayes preferd the good of the voyage, as he protested. Whereupon they at last grewe to this consideracion, thatt they intended not to make him an absolute example, in reguard of the smalnes of his wages, but were contented to lett him haue his wages and goods, And onlie reserued his Bond, to be determynd by the Companie, whether they will lett him passe without fraight."

February 14, 1615.—As the result of a conference with Saris, the following goods were ordered to be provided for Japan:

"Broad cloaths, Bayes, Leade, Gallyopotts, wrightinge tables, refind camphire, Elephannts teeth, Holland cloath, Cambricke and Lawnes, Sleseer cloath, Pictures of warres, Steele in gadds,

Skynnes, Sanders wood, Rawe silke of Canton and Lancton, with sundrye other particulers."

March 7, 1615.—The Committees reported their deliberations concerning Saris and a letter was read from him "to excuse matters paste, and comparinge his service and deserts with other mens. . . . . Charging both Mr. Gouernour and Comittees with a promise made by them at Grauesend that if his voyage succeeded well he should finde them thankfull for a gratificacion over and aboue his wages." As to his opening the letters sent to the Company by their factors, "he excusd, supposinge he might lawfully haue opened them, beinge one of the Company."[1] This right was of course denied. As to his private trade, he reiterated that it "was nothinge comparable to that which some others had," who had escaped censure.

Some insinuated that the Committees had not been sufficiently severe, and that all that had been done was "but onlie meere showes without any substaunce." This was indignantly repudiated by Smythe, who declared that he had acted solely in the Company's interest and had in no way sheltered the offender.

It was also suggested that Saris had made a profit out of the presents alleged by him to have been given; but this was refuted by pointing out that the factors, who consented to the giving of the presents, were also eye-witnesses of their delivery, and would have detected any attempt at fraud.

Being interrupted by some new arrivals, "the Courte sodainelie brake vpp and nothinge was absolutelie determynd."

March 10, 1615.—Messrs. Hamersley and Hanford reported that, as regards presents, all were given with the written consent of the factors, and that half of them "were to the Emperour, besides greate presennts out of his [Saris's] own particuler purse to dyuers personns and extraordinary charges he was att in puttinge himselfe into braue apparrell to confront the Portugalls and Flemyngs, whoe sought all the meanes that possiblie they could to disgrace him, whereby he was at the extraordinary expences of 400*li.* in his owne particuler, as he is ready to bee deposd, and chargeth not one penny thereof vnto the Companies Accompt, haueinge done yt for the honnour of his Countrye and the grace of this Companie, whereby there shalbe noe neede hereafter of giueinge vnto the Emperour, and hath procured large priuiledges vnder the Emperours firme, and, amongst other things, that noe Custome shall bee paid inwards or outwards for any goods."

"Some obserued that haueinge bene the chargablest voyage, because of the length and contynuance, yet yt is found to be as proffitable as any other, and therefore held yt reasonable to giue him his due for his good deserts, And yf they doe finde iustlie by his

[1] This shows that he was a freeman, if not an adventurer.

yll carriage that he hath offended, then to taxe him for the same. And thereuppon some again (as formerlie) discouered the discontent of the Companie, 1 in opening the lettres sent to Mr. Gouernour, 2 for his priuate trade, and 3 by his sleight reguard of the Comittees in generall. But his awnswere to the first was that knowinge a Coppie had bene sent of the said letter, and he desiringe to be satisfied what things had bene done in his absence, did yt by the consent of Ball himselfe. His priuate trade is lesse then some other mens, which they haue past over, and Mr. Hamersley haueinge taken notice of his goods here and in the outports, doth finde noe more entred in his name. And for his carryage towards the Comittees, he knoweth not that he hath offended in that mattere. These things haueinge bene thus prest against him and matters heard without partialitie and prosecuted without affeccion, some mociond to haue an end putt to the said buysines, which they supposed is to bee effected by twoe questions: 1, whether to giue his bond and pardon his freight; 2, And whether to giue him a gratificacion. But before they proceded vnto them, some wisht that they would bee pleased to take vnto their Consideracions the small wages that he had at his goinge forth, which if they had be[ne] awnswearable to Mr. Bests would haue aduanct [him?] 500*li.* more, or yf such as Sir Henry Middletons, would haue aduanct him 1100*li.* more. And he himselfe presseth much the promise made him at Grauesend, to be considered accordinge to his deserts. The question at last beeinge propounded, they were contented by ereccion of hannds to giue him his bond and pardon his freight. But the second beinge putt, for a gratificacion, some aduised not to doe yt presentlie, for distastinge the generalitie, but rather to respite yt awhile, although others thought yt fitt to determyne the same without any further protraction, yt beeinge in their owne power to effect, and knowinge the reasons whie they did it, there are none will be soe vncyuill to censure them but they shalbe able to giue them sufficient awnswere. And the question beinge putt, they did by erection of hannds deferre the bestowinge of any gratificacion as yett, but to respite yt a while, that all may not be done too sodenlie together."

March 17, 1615.—(General Court for sale of goods.) A "Biobee or Skreene guilded and painted with some resemblances of warfare" was knocked down to the Governor for 6*l.*

"Annother Biobee, ... portrayde full of horses," was sold to him for 4*l.* 13*s.* 0*d.*, with a duplicate for 4*l.* 11*s.* 0*s.*

Three other "Biobees of warfare" sold for 5*l.* 12*s.* 0*d.*, 5*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* and 6*l.* 15*s.* 0*d.*

Two "portrayde with fowles" fetched 3*l.* 3*s.* 0*d.* and 4*l.* 7*s.* 0*d.*; and three "of huntinge," 10*l.*, 8*l.* 1*s.* 0*d.*, and 8*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.*

June 20, 1615.—Saris's business was again considered. The charges against him and his answers, "acknowledginge that he

erd like a man, but is nowe otherwise altered from that hee was at his retourne, beeinge changed and much reformed, which reasons beinge dulie weighed and considered, they thought it fitt to giue him some good gratificacion for his and all others better encouragements. And twoe somes beeinge propounded of 300 *li.* and 500 markes, they bestowed vpon him freelie by ereccion of hannds the some of 500 markes, which some promised he should thankfullie accept and acknowlegd their kindnes vnto him."

July 4, 1615.—A letter of thanks from Saris was read, requesting also to be permitted to increase his adventure from 400*l.* to 2000*l.* He was permitted to make it 1000*l.*

August 19, 1615.—John Saris passed over to Ralph Gore his adventures of 25*l.* in the Seventh Voyage, 45*l.* in the Ninth Voyage, and 400*l.* in part of his adventure in the Joint Stock, with all profits.

June 7, 1622.—John Saris transferred 300*l.* adventure in the First Joint Stock to William Stone, the Company's treasurer.

X.—The Subsequent Career of Captain Saris.[1]

Saris did not again tempt fortune in the East.[2] He had secured at all events a competence, and he resolved to settle down and enjoy it.

About 1615 he married Anne, daughter of William Meggs, of Whitechapel, and granddaughter (on her mother's side) of Sir Thomas Cambell, Lord Mayor in 1609-10. In the twenty-ninth year of her age, and the eighth year of her married life, she died without issue, on February 21, 1623,[3] and was buried in the parish church of St. Botolph, Thames Street. This building, described by

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[1] This Section has been contributed by Mr. Foster.

[2] On June 22, 1616, William Eaton wrote from Hirado to Richard Wickham at Miako: "Hee [Saris] is in good extemation with the Companie in England and . . . . it is thought hee shall Come out Generall this yeare of the best fleate of shipes that ever Come to the Easte Indies" (O. C., No. 371); but this was mere rumour.

[3] This date is taken from the inscription on her monument, as given by Strype in his *Survey of London* (1720), Book II, p. 167; and is confirmed by two of the pedigrees referred to on p. vii (*Harleian MSS.* 1551 and 4964).

Stow as "a proper church," stood on the south side of Thames Street, opposite the bottom of Botolph Lane. It was burnt down in the Great Fire, and was not rebuilt; and the "very fair monument in the wall of the south aisle," which Strype says was raised to her memory by her sorrowing husband, has of course disappeared.

From her burial in this spot it may be inferred that her husband was then residing in the neighbourhood; but some five or six years after her death he moved to Fulham. His name first appears in the poor-rate assesments for that parish in 1629, and continues from that date until his death.[1] The house he occupied was in Church Row. It was pulled down in 1750, and Sir William Powell's Almshouses now stand upon its site.[2] Here he lived quietly until the winter of 1643, when he died on December 11, and was buried on the 19th, a fee of *2s. 6d.* being paid to the churchwardens "for the buriall." His monument, a large black stone in the floor to the right of the altar, may still be seen in Fulham Church, though it is partially hidden by the choir-stalls. It bears the arms of himself and his wife, with the following inscription :—

"Here lyeth interred the Body of | Captayn Iohn Saris, of Fulham, in | the County of Middlesex, Esq., who | departed this Life the 11 day of December, Ao. Dni. 1643, Age 63 years. | He had to wife Anne, the | davghter of William Migges | of London, Esq. She departed this life the second (*sic*) day of | February, Ao. Dni. | 1622 [*i.e.*, 1623] | and lieth bu | ried in the Parishe Chvrch of St. | Botolph in Thame-Street, | being aged 21 (*sic*) yeares."[3]

By his will (copy in Somerset House : Twisse, 146), dated April 18, 1643, and proved October 2, 1646, he left the bulk of his property to the children of his half-brother George, who had died in 1631. To the poor of Fulham parish, however, he left thirty pounds, to be expended in two-

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[1] *Fulham Old and New*, by Mr. C. J. Fèret, vol. i, p. 230.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 138. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 230, and Faulkner's *Fulham*, p. 72.

penny loaves, which were to be distributed to thirty poor people every Sunday, after sermon, until the amount was exhausted.

XI.—Correspondence between King James I and Japanese Potentates. Saris's Petition. The Privileges. The Japanese Document in Purchas.

In his journal Saris says that while in the Thames he received four royal letters, "whereof one a blanke,"[1] directed to the Great Mogoll of Surat and Cambaya, the Emperor of Japan, the King of Ferando, and the King of Bantam. The second of these[2] is here reproduced:—

"James, by the grace of Almightie God, kinge of greate Brittaine, Fraunce and Ireland, defendor of the Christian faithe, etc., to the highe and mightie Prince the Emperour of Japan, etc: greetinge.

"Most highe and mightie Prince,

"As there is nothinge which increaseth more the glorie and dignitie of Soueraigne Princes vpon earth then to extend their renowne vnto farr discident Nations: Soe, haueing vnderstoode of late yeares from some of our loueinge Subiects that haue traded into diuers Countries neere adioyneinge vnto yours, of the reputacion and greatnes of your power and dominion: Wee haue incourradged our said subiects to vndertake a Voyadge into your Countrey, aswell to solicitt your freindshipp and Amity with vs as to enterchange such Comodities of each others Countreys as may be most of vse the one to the other, beinge nothinge doubtfull but such will be your princelie magnanimitie and disposition as to be readie to ymbrace this our desier, and not onlie to receiue our people with your accustomed benignitie and favor butt, for their better encouradgment, to affourd them your Royall proteccion for the setlinge of a Factorie there with such securitie and libertie of Comerce as shall be most con-

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[1] *I.e.*, a royal letter signed and dated, but with a space left for the insertion of the name of any potentate to whom the factors might think fit to deliver it. Among the Cotton Charters at the British Museum will be found actual specimens of a "blank" and of a letter to the "Emperour of Japan," both dated April 11, 1614 (W. F.).

[2] First printed in *The First Letter-Book of the East India Company*, p. 422, from a contemporary copy at the India Office.

venient for the aduancement of the mutuall proffitt and Comoditie of each others Subiects; Wherein, for our parte, wee doe willinglie offer ourselues and the libertie of our kingdomes and Countres whensoeuer any of your Subiects shall vndertake to haue comunicacion with vs. And soe wee pray Almightie God to blesse and prosper you and to make you victorious against your Enemies.

"From our Pallace at Westminster this [*blank*] of January in the Eight yeare of our Reigne[1] of Greate Brittaine, Fraunce and Ireland."

The Japanese version of this letter is extant in MS. in various Japanese collections, and has been printed by Suganuma at p. 514 of his *Dai-Nihon Shōgiō-Shi* (*History of Japanese Commerce*). It is described in the *Ikoku Nikki* as written on wax-paper (? vellum) 2 ft. wide and 1 ft. 6 ins. deep, with an illuminated margin on three sides, and sealed with a waxen seal. "Being written in foreign characters which could not be read, Anji (Wm. Adams) was invited to write a translation in *kana* (the syllabic writing of Japan)." This was afterwards written out again in the usual mixture of Chinese and Japanese character.

Re-translated from the Japanese, the letter reads thus:—

"By the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland these eleven years past. How great is the glory of the Shōgun Sama of Japan has been heard with certainty in Our country, wherefore We have sent Captain general John Saris and others as Our representatives to pay Our compliments to the Shōgun Sama of Japan. If it is as we say,[2] Our country is profoundly satisfied that the conditions of our respective countries are greatly communicated.[3] Henceforth every year you should allow numbers of merchant ships to be sent, to cement friendship between the merchants of both parties, and to traffic in the articles that may be desired on either side. Moreover, if it be the friendly wish of the Shōgun Sama of Japan, merchants shall be left here[4] to promote mutual friendship. Then Japanese merchants shall be invited freely to Our country, and allowed

[1] *I.e.*, January, 1611.

[2] This phrase might well be omitted in translating. It amounts to no more than beginning a new paragraph.

[3] Or put in circulation. It is awkwardly expressed by the translator, and it is not quite easy to guess what he meant.

[4] *I.e.*, in Japan, where the translator is writing.

to supply and traffic in the precious articles of Japan. Thus for ever and ever, We will, as We say, communicate with Japan without any feeling of aloofness.

"KING JAMES REX,

"At his castle of Westminster, King of Great Britain.

"To the Shōgun Sama of Japan."

It will be observed that the translator inserts the name of Saris, which is not in the original letter from England, and that he translates "Emperor" by *Shōgun*, *Sama* being a title that may be rendered by "Monsieur." Also that he alters the date, so as to make it appear that the letter was written in the 11th year of King James. The style of the Japanese version is not good, while certain expressions are employed in an unfamiliar manner, and the copies vary slightly. The preceding re-translation is as close as the Editor has been able to render it under these circumstances.

The answer of Iyeyasu to King James has likewise been preserved in Japan, and is here given in translation. It may be compared with Saris's version in the journal (p. 137), which is much freer and has a more complimentary ring about it.

"Minamoto no Iyeyasu of Japan replies to His Honour the Lord of Igarateira. By the naval envoy who has borne the fatigue of a long journey we have for the first time received a letter, from which we have seen that the government of your honoured country as described on paper preserves the right way. In particular I have received numerous presents of your productions, in which I esteem myself very fortunate. I will follow your proposals in respect of cultivating neighbourly feeling with my country, and maintaining mutual intercourse by merchant vessels. Though separated by ten thousand leagues of clouds and waves, our territories are as it were close to each other. I send some poor specimens of what this country affords, as enumerated in the accompanying list, as a slight token of regard. Spare yourself as the weather changes.

"Keichō, 18th year,[1] corresponding to *midzunoto ushi*,[2] ninth month, first decade."[3]

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[1] 1613. [2] The fifty-second year of the cycle of sixty years.
[3] Corresponding to 4 October, O.S.

The letter of King James to the "King of Ferando" was doubtless worded in precisely the same manner as that to the "Emperor." No Japanese copy has been preserved, but the text of Matsura Hōin's reply is extant, and a translation here follows. In comparison with the version given by Saris in his journal (p. 195), as prepared for him by two Chinese residents at Bantam, its style seems somewhat bald, but there can be no doubt that both represent the same original text.

"I cannot sufficiently express my great gladness and thanks for the courteous letter and the gifts of various of your productions sent by the hands of your envoy John Saris, wherein I have been the fortunate recipient of your great kindness. By way of a requital of but trifling value, I pray for the continuance of our correspondence. I rejoice at the safe arrival of your envoy at this little island after so long a journey. I am not able immediately to find any of our productions which may be suitable for exchange, but before long we shall be able to commence trade with some of the articles of which we mutually stand in need. The trade at this place shall be committed to the hands of the officials of your honoured country, and I will show my gratitude by sending a few articles in exchange by the hands of one of my officers.[1]

"I pray moreover that you will take care of your health, and enjoy peace and prosperity.

"Hōin of Hirado Island in Japan.

"6th day of the 10th moon of this country,
18th year of Keichō (9 November 1613, O. S.)
"To the English King Paramount."[2]

The Japanese document printed by Purchas as the "Iaponian Charter," and now reproduced, is not a copy of the Privileges, but of the abbreviated articles presented by Saris, as it would seem, through Adams on September 10 (see p. 131). Of this Japanese document Saris must have brought back a copy to England, under the impression

[1] The character here conjecturally rendered "officers" cannot be deciphered with certainty.

[2] The expression used in the original is *sō-o*, literally "King of All."

that it was a copy of the Privileges, and have given it to Purchas for publication.

Of the Privileges, according to Japanese sources of information, there were two copies, both authenticated by the seal of Iyeyasu, of which one was for the use of the factory at Hirado, and the other intended to serve as a sort of passport for the next English vessel that should visit Japan. The one Saris accordingly left at Hirado in the care of Cocks,[1] and it was no doubt surrendered in 1616.[2] The other copy was probably furnished to the *Osiander*, which arrived at Hirado from Bantam, August 31, 1615.

A MS. copy of a petition in several articles has been unearthed by Professor Riess from the Cotton Charters in the British Museum,[3] and reads as follows :—

Sorongo in Japon. October the 7th [2nd?].

The Coppie of such priviledges are [as ?] were demaunded of the Emperor of Japon by Gennerall Sayres In the name of the Kings Maiesties of England, for Trade in Japon, which were accordinglie graunted, As per his Charter written in the Japon Language and sealed with his Braude Seale appereth, viz.

Inprimis, That his Maiestie would be pleased to graunte free lycence to all the Subiects of the King of England that they may for ever safely come into any his Ports and Kingdoms of Japon with their Ships and marchantdize, without any hinderance to them or their goods, and to abide, buy, sell and exchange according to their owne manner with all nations whatsoever, and to tarrey soe long as they will and depart at their pleasures, And that all such marchantdize as they have or hereafter shall bring into his Kingdomes, or shall transport to any forraigne part, to be free of all Costomes whatsoever. And that the hereafter Ships may make present sale of their Comodeties without further order or sending vp to his Maiestie.

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[1] *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. ii, p. 7. "I leave with you the Emperor's privileges for trade."

[2] Cocks's *Diary;* letter of January 1, 1617, vol. ii, pp. 279, 280, and 281.

[3] No. xxvi, 28. Dr. Riess has, by an oversight, given as the reference No. iii, 13, which is in the same volume. The copy appears to be in the handwriting of John Osterwick, who arrived in Japan in 1615 (W. F.).

SARIS'S PETITION FOR PRIVILEGES

erroneously described by Purchas as "The Japonian Charter."

2. Item, If their Ships shalbe in daunger to be lost and perish and shall stand in neede of his subiects helpe, that Comaunde may be given to assist them, And what shalbe saved to retorne to the marchants. And that he would give a suffitient platt of grounde to build vppon; and the same howse to be at the disposing of the Cape marchant, to make sale of at their departure out of the Countrie.

3. Item, Yf any of them depart this life, he to whome the Cape marchant shall saye his goods belonge shall possesse the same. And for any offence Comitted by them, that the Justice of this land take no hould either of their persons nor goods, but to be referred to the sayde Cape marchants discretion.

4. Item, That all bargaynes made by them shalbe firme, and that no mann retorne their wares, but paye for them according to agreement.

5. Item, to graunte for himselfe and for his heires That all such marchantdizes as are meete for his Service, that noe arrest may be made thereof, but to give present accompt at such prices as they (*sic*) marchant could sell them for reddy monney.

6. Item, That for such marchantdize as the Realme of England affoardeth, whereof a particuler hath byn delyvered, it may be knowne what sorts and quantities he will have yerely brought, and that a certaine price may be agreed vppon, which shall accordinglie be perforemed.

7. Item, That [if?] in discouery of any other places of Trade or retorne of owre owne Ships, they shall have neede of either menn or victualls for accomplishing thereof: That Comaunde may be given that they may be furnished thereof as their needes shall require vppon resonable sattisfaccion without any other further troble. And that his Maiestie will graunte his free passe for Eadso, an Iland neere adioyning his Domynions yett unknowne.

Jo. Sayres.

In his journal under date of September 9 (see p. 131), Saris writes: "I deliuered him [the Secretary of Iyeyasu] the Articles or demaundes to be granted by the Emperor, which he desired might be abreuiated.

"The 10th the Articles abreuiated, I sent them by Mr. Addams to the secrytarye, which weare deliuered the Emperor, whoe liked well thereof."

The following is a free translation of this second petition:—

"Memorandum.

"I have come to Iapan for the first time. His Highness shall permit trade to be freely carried on.

"As to goods for the use of Their Two Highnesses, that they shall be pleased to furnish a list of what is required.

"That they shall prevent any attempt to force a sale or otherwise commit violence in respect of the cargo of the English ships.

"That they shall permit English ships to freely enter any port of Japan when compelled by stress of weather. That the English may build houses and carry on trade at whatever port they wish, and to that end that a piece of ground be given to them.

"That they shall be permitted to buy directly from the merchants any articles they may wish to purchase in Japan.

"When Japanese and Englishmen quarrel that the merits shall be inquired into, and decision given exactly in accordance therewith.

"That if the English desire to return home, they shall be allowed to do so at any time; and that in connexion with their return home they shall be allowed, before leaving, to sell the houses they have built.

"From Captain JOHN SARIS
"General."

The document is undated. It will be noticed that two matters are omitted which are in the Cotton MS., namely, the grant of a free pass "for Eadso, an Iland neere adioyning his Domynions," and the power to be granted to the Cape merchant to administer to the goods of a deceased Englishman. The latter, however, makes its appearance in the Japanese copy of the privileges. In Adams's undated letter to the East India Company giving his account of Saris's mission, he says that Iyeyasu had talked to him about the island of Yezo, and "told me yf I did go, he would geue me his letter of frindship to the land of Yedzoo, whear his subiects haue frinship."[1] This conversation seems to have taken place on September 11, and on the following day Saris and Adams left for Yedo. They returned to Sumpu on September 29, and on October 8 Saris received Iyeyasu's answer to King James, dated

[1] Rundall, *Memorials*, p. 66; reprinted in *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. i, p. 323.

October 4, together with the Privileges, which were dated October 2. These documents were probably prepared during their absence. The following translation of the Privileges is from a paper published by Professor Riess:—[1]

"1. The ship that has now for the first time come from England over the sea to Japan may carry on trade of all kinds without hindrance. With regard to future visits (of English ships) permission will be given in regard to all matters.[2]

"2. With regard to the cargoes of ships, requisitions will be made by list according to the requirements of the Shōgunate.

"3. (English ships) are free to visit any port in Japan. If disabled by storms they may put into any harbour.

"4. Ground in the place in Yedo which they may desire shall be given to the English, and they may erect houses and reside and trade there. They shall be at liberty to return to their country whenever they wish to do so, and to dispose as they like of the houses they have erected.

"5. If any Englishman dies in Japan of disease or any other cause, his effects shall be handed over without fail.

"6. Forced sales of cargoes and violence[3] shall not take place.

"7. If one of the English should commit an offence, he shall be sentenced by the English General (Taïshō) according to the gravity of the offence.

"The above is as stated, 18, Keicho 8 month 28 day (Oct. 13th, 1613).[4]

"Red seal.

"Ingirateira (England)."

The translation of these privileges furnished to Purchas will be found in the journal under the date of October 8, 1613.[5] It was probably the joint production of Adams and the native linguist whom Saris had taken from Hirado.

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[1] *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xxvi, December, 1898.

[2] This follows the text given in Suganuma's book already quoted. But the character translated "matters" is probably erroneous, and the true reading would give the translation, "shall be exempted from all taxes," *i.e.*, import duties.

[3] "Violence" and "forced sale" go together. Compare the translation of Saris's "abbreviated articles," *supra*.

[4] This date should be October 12 = October 2 (O.S.).

[5] See p. 138. Printed and facsimiled by Rundall, at pp. 67 and 155.

It will be observed that this charter promises to give a piece of ground for building purposes at Yedo, not at any port they may choose. In the letter published by Rundall as "No 3"[1] Adams writes :—

"Now, once, yf a ship do coum, lett her coum for the esterly part of Iapan, lying in 35 d. 10 m. whear the Kinge and the Emperour court is : for coum our ships to Ferando whear the Hollanders bee, it is far to ye court, about 230 L., a werysoum way and foul. The citti of Edo lyeth in 36, and about this esterly part of the land thear be the best harbors and a cost so cleer as theayr is no sholdes nor rokes ½ a myll from the mayn land. It is good also for the sale of merchandis and security for ships."

This letter being dated January 12, 1613,[2] must have reached Adams's correspondent at Bantam (Augustin Spalding) after Saris had started thence for Japan, so that the idea of establishing a factory at Yedo would not be brought before him until he met Adams at Hirado. Whether they talked of it then does not appear. In the "vearey Long letter wrot from Iapan by William Adams, and sent home in the *Cloue*, 1614,"[3] he tells the Company that Iyeyasu having asked him in what place Saris wished to establish a factory, he replied : "I did think not far from his court, or the Kinges court, at which he seemed verry glad." This would explain the insertion of Yedo in the grant, though Saris had in his petition asked for a piece of ground at whatever port he might choose. Saris was certainly not aware of this limitation, for otherwise he would have noted the fact, and not have furnished to his employers the Privileges embodied in the journal, in which his original request seems to be accorded. Adams, who

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[1] *Memorials of Japan*, p. 43 ; *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. i, p. 208.

[2] Adams dated it "the 12 of Jeneuari, 1613 ;" but in the second paragraph he says : "Your ffrindly and christian letter I hau receued by the Hollanders which be heer arriued this year, 1612." See Rundall, p. 40.

[3] Rundall, p. 57.

was unable to read Japanese, was also no doubt ignorant of the tenor of this clause.

What appears a more remarkable divergence between the petition and the grant is, that whereas the former proposes that when quarrels occur between Japanese and Englishmen, the merits shall be inquired into, and judgment given in accordance with the facts—by the Japanese authorities—the grant is to the effect that if one of the English should commit an offence, the English "general" is to try and sentence the offender.

Another point to which attention may be directed is that the style and wording of the Japanese version of the petition closely correspond with those of the grant as given by Suganuma, as may easily be seen by a comparison between the two Japanese texts. Nos. 1 and 2 are pretty much the same in both. Art. 3 of the petition becomes No. 6 in the grant, while Art. 4 of the petition is divided between 3 and 4 of the Privileges. Art. 5 of the petition, asking that the trade may be carried on directly between the merchants of the two nations, *i.e.*, without official interference, is passed over. The 6th Art. of the petition becomes 7 in the grant, but its effect is changed, jurisdiction in offences being given to the Cape merchant; while lastly, Art. 7 of the petition is added to Art. 4 of the Privileges. Art. 5 of the grant is taken from the original unabbreviated petition.

Appendix II to vol. ii of the 1727 English edition of Kaempfer contains a diary of occurrences at Nagasaki between June 29 and August 28, 1673, on board the English ship *Return*, which had been sent to Japan to renew commercial intercourse. It states that the captain "tendered them [the governor and his secretary] a copy of the articles or privileges granted to us, at our first entrance here, by the Emperor, in the *Japan* character, which they perused and read, and could understand, asking very much

for the original, or grant itself, with the Emperor's chop or seal, which I said we had not, by reason it was delivered to the Emperor's council at our departure from *Firando;* they kept it, saying, they would deliver it to me very suddenly."

This was, in all probability, a transcript of the Japanese document in Purchas. The latter, as can be recognised by anyone familiar with the Japanese method of writing with a brush, was reproduced from a copy made with a soft, finely-pointed quill pen.

The Japanese scholar, Kondō Morishige, who compiled a work on foreign relations, entitled *Gwai-ban Tsū-sho*, or "Foreign Barbarian Correspondence," gives in his twenty-seventh Book, or Chapter, a copy of a document, which turns out to be the same as the paper published by Purchas.

Kondō's observations on it are:

"The original document is still preserved in the archives of Tateyama[1] at Nagasaki. It was written with a 'pen' (the quill of a goose, cut and used instead of a writing-brush) on *pappiru* (barbarian paper), six and a half *sun*[2] high, nine *sun* wide, and folded just like the ordinary Dutch sealed documents. I saw it myself, and took a copy. In the Nagasaki Zakki [Miscellaneous Records] it is stated that on the 25th day of the 5th moon of the 3rd[3] year of *Kwambun* (the 1st of Yempō) [which is June 29, 1673, O. S.] an English vessel arrived at Nagasaki. They formerly came in their ships year by year to Hirado continuously to trade. An intermission of over forty years having taken place, they now came again and petitioned for trade. A representation was sent to Yedo, but permission was not granted; and on the 26th, the day of the 7th moon of the same year [August 27, O. S.] the English ship was sent away."

The work he quotes from goes on to remark that the English produced this paper as a charter allowing them to trade, but on opening the paper, it was found not to have

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[1] One of the two Governor's offices at Nagasaki was situated in a part of the town which still goes by this name. It has since been destroyed by fire.

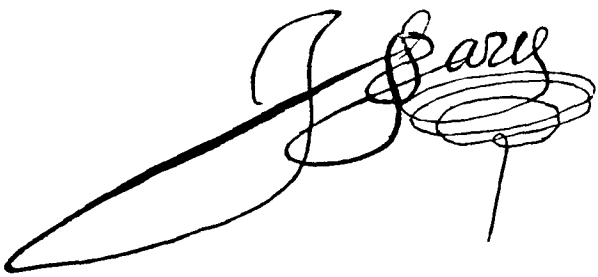
[2] 1.19 inches = 1 *sun*.

[3] This is a mistake for 13th.

that character, being merely a paper in Japanese taken home by them from Hirado. Kondō goes on to remark that it was a petition presented by the English when they first visited Japan in 1613, "as can easily be seen by comparing it with the articles of the grant conferred on that occasion."

In the collection of the Historiographical Bureau of the the Imperial University at Tōkiō there exists an imperfect facsimile made apparently by Kondō, ending abruptly in the middle of the last paragraph, at the words "at any time." A reproduction has recently been published by Professor Riess in the paper already referred to. The whole text, however, is given by Kondō, and has been printed by Suganuma in his *Commercial History of Great Japan*, mentioned above, but in one or two places the present editor has seen reason to differ from his reading of the document.

It only remains to add that the history of the English factory at Hirado after Saris's departure may be studied in Cocks's *Diary*, and that an excellent sketch of its vicissitudes is contained in Professor Riess's paper so often cited in this Introduction.



SIGNATURE OF CAPTAIN SARIS.

"Here first we present vnto you, the *East-Indies* made *Westerly* by the Illustrious Voyage of Captaine IOHN SARIS; who hauing spent some yeares before in the *Indies*, by Obseruations to rectifie Experience, and by Experience to prepare for higher Attempts, hath heere left the knowne Coasts of *Europe*, compassed those more vnknowne of *Afrike* from the *Atlantike* to the *Erythræan* Sea, and after Commerce there (*tam* Marte, *quàm* Mercurio) compasseth the Shoares, and pierceth the Seas, to and beyond all iustnames of *Indian* and *Asia*, penetrating by a long iourney the Ilands, Cities, Court of the *Iaponian* Empire; there setleth an *English* Factorie, and after safe returne, is readie to render thee the pleasure of his paine, and (why stay I thee any longer?) by a more pleasant *Discoursiue* way, to discover to thee the Rarities of that *Discouerie*; and by hand, by the Eyes to lead thee alongst with him all the way."

Purchas His Pilgrimes, vol. i, p. 333.

THE VOYAGE

OF

CAPTAIN JOHN SARIS TO JAPAN,

1612–13.

JANUARY 14, 1612.[1]—The 14th in the morning we wayed out of the roade of Bantam for Japan, hauing taken in heare for that place 700 sacks pepper for a Try'all theare.

My Companye 81 persons, viz., 74 English, 1 spanniar, 1 Japan, and 5 swarts.[2] God Allmightie send them health and be our protector. I sent Mr. Cocks[3] to buy a Treble voyall[4] and a Tabor and pipe on board the Trade,[5] cost 7 rials 8.[6] I gave the

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[1] *I.e.*, 1612-13, as the year then began on March 25th. The Gregorian calendar was adopted in England in 1752, September 3 being called September 14.

[2] Blacks.

[3] Afterwards Cape-merchant of the English factory established by Saris at Hirado. His Diary, edited by Sir E. Maunde Thompson, has been published by the Hakluyt Society.

[4] Viol, fiddle.

[5] The *Trade's Increase*, flagship of Sir Henry Middleton, "General" of the Sixth Voyage.

[6] To be read, 7 rials of 8; that is, 7 pieces of 8 rials = 7 dollars. The Spanish dollar was valued at three shillings and sixpence or four shillings sterling, according to circumstances.

Hector and Thomas 15 pieces at parting, and was answered with 13 out of the Hector, 11 out of the Thomas. Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meales beefe.

The 15th [January] in the morning before daye we wayed, little wynd at W., and haling[1] into 14 Fathams, we steered E. by S. and E.S.E., leuing poolooe lacke[2] one our starboard side, and a 11 or 12 one our larboard side, our deapth from 14 to 10 Fathames, going within 2 Ilands which lyeth to the E.wardes of pooloo lacke afforesaid. And in the faire waye theare lyeth a shoale which hath not above 6 foote one the top of it, and is not aboue halfe a cables lenght long everye waye, and hard aboard it is 10 Fathames and the next cast aground, As by experyence, for here we laye 3 howeres beating with a reasonable stiff gaile, but by gods providence and the willing indeauors of my Companye in this great extremitye we gott hir of; But sprung a leake, that for all night and tell 10 of the clock the next daye at noon we contynued pumping, everye man but my selfe taking his torne, and all no more then to keepe it from increasing, To my greate Sorrowe, douting that perforce I must haue put back to Bantam, to the ouerthrowe of my men and voyage for Japan. But through the mercyes of god and the Carpenters dilligence it was found out and made thite.[3] God make me for ever thankfull and deliuer us from the like. And To goe cleere of this shoale keepe cloase to the Ilands, for the maine is shoale. And to goe with it is to keepe pooloe lacke, which you leave, on your starboard side, and the high E. land of the outer point of Jaua, called Pallimban,[4] Right

[1] *I.e.*, hauling.

[2] Pulo Laki, or Menscheneters Eiland (Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, IV Deel, p. 6, and map).

[3] Tight.

[4] Probably Mount Panimbang, also known as Sanga Buana (*Eastern Archipelago*, Part II, p. 108).

over the boddye of Poolo Lacke, or to keepe the N.ermost part of pallingban and the N.ermost point of pooloo lake a littell opening and shutting, which will bring you upone the verye top of it, and your thwart marke[1] is a high peeked hill up in the Countery, which hill is to the westwards of the hill that is ouer Jakatra,[2] the next to it. And when you haue it S. by E. ½ point Easterly that is your thwart marke, and the pointe of the watring place S.E. ½ point Easterly, and the poynt opening and shutting with the S.ermost Ilands of the 4 that lyeth in a ranke. But there is 2 or 3 Ilands without them 4. All these markes are to meete with it. But ether opening the 4 Ilands a good waye without the point, or the point of Java a good waye without pooloo lacke, or to keepe close to the Ilands the which you leaue one your larboard side, will carrye you cleare of it. And the nearer the Iland which lyeth of the point, being the westermost Iland of 2, you shall have the deepest water. But if you doe borowe one the mayne[3] to goe within the said shoale, you shall haue water enoffe tell you com somme league unto the poynt, for of the wester part of the poynt there lyeth a shoale N.N.W. somme league of, and you shall see the sea flur[4] one it yf there be any wynd, and haue 8 Fathams, the next cast aground. Edward Footeman dyed. Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meals wheate and honye; more to everye man 1 pynt of wyne for laboring in getting of the ship of the rocks.

The 16th [January] we anchored at the watring place called Tinga Jaua,[5] being 14 leagues from Bantam and

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[1] Clearing mark.

[2] The old name of Batavia.

[3] *I.e.*, go as near to the mainland as you safely can.

[4] Modern spelling "flower" = froth (see Roe's *Embassy*, under "flurry," vol. i, p. 25 *n.*).

[5] This seems to be off the point marked Untung Java in the Admiralty Chart.

somme $3\frac{1}{2}$ leagues to the westwards of Jackatra, riding between 2 Ilands[1] which lyeth of the point distant 5 miles. Depth 10 and 9 Fathams cloase to the Iland, but the mayne is shoale. And of the watring place S. by W. is a bushey point, and the pointe to the westward, from whence the shoale commeth, S.W. by W., and the opening betwene boath the Ilands N. by W., and the outward part of the shoale W. by N., and the Iland pooloo lacke W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ point N.ly. I sent Mr. Wickham[2] and hernando the Spannyard ashoare to buy provityone, and with presents to the king, Sabandare[3] and the Admyrall, viz. to the king 1 doble lockt peece, 1 pees white Bafta,[4] 1 peece cassa :[5] To the Sabandare and Admerall each of them a doble lockt peece and a peece white Bafta: desiring them to excuse me for not coming ashoare, and to giue me leaue to buy such necessaryes as I haue sent for, willing Mr. Wickham not to suffer the Flemminges to search his boate for what he had leaue of the king to bring aboard (as they did to Capt. Sharpigh[6] bound for Sacadanna).[7] Allowance Sack and biskett 2 meales; this daye they had dubble allowance of all things for that they pumpt hard.

The 17th [January] In the morning it pleased God

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[1] The two islands are Middelburg and Amsterdam.

[2] Richard Wickham, who accompanied Saris on his journey to Court and back, was left behind in Japan with Cocks, as a member of the factory, to reside at Soronga (Sumpu) or Yedo. He came down to Hirado in December 1614, and thence returned to the east. In 1618 he went to Bantam, and thence to Jacatra (Batavia), where he died not long after. There are many references to him in Cocks's Diary, and in the *Letters Received by the East India Company.*

[3] *Shabunder* or *Shahbandar*, Harbour-master (Yule and Burnell, *Glossary*).

[4] A kind of calico (Yule and Burnell).

[5] Probably Cossa, a sort of Bengal piece goods (Milburn, vol. i, p. 46).

[6] Captain Alexander Sharpeigh, "General" of the 4th voyage. See *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. ii.

[7] Sukadana, a port on the W. coast of Borneo, south of the line, 110° E. long. 1° 15′ S. lat.

we stopt our leake. The wynd at N.W. with Raine. Allowance sack and biskett, dubble allowance to breckfast, 2 meales beefe.

The 18th [January] the King sent his cheife man vnto me to thanke me for his present, and to make profer of what his counterye affoarded; directed vs to a verye good watring place, and profered many other curtesies, earnestly desiring me to leaue a factorye there ashoare, which should be well vsed, for he was wearye of the Flemings. Giuen to his seruants 2 blewe byrammes,[1] cost 15 rials per corge.[2] The wynd this daye at N.W. with Raine. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales wheate with honye.

The 19th [January] Giuen to Keygus varro one peece Blewe biramme, one peece white baffta. The wynd at N.W. with Raine. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales Beefe.

The 20th [January] The ould Sabandare sent a present by his sonne Keygoose Gooloo viz. 200 Cokers[3] and 2 Goates, in requitall wheareof giuen him 1 pees chauter,[4] 1 shash,[5] 1 pes fine duttye,[6] to 2 of the Kings men which helped Mr. Wickham to bring the provityon he had bought aboard. I intertaned the Captain and marchants of the Flemishe howse to dynner, and at parting gaue them 5 peeces, and at parting of Keygoose 3 peeces. Whiting Chinesa brought me from his wyfe 1 praman[7] matt and pillowe and too hangings from himselfe, which in requitall I gaue him a faire damasked peece and 1 peece Chauter.

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[1] Same as byrampaut, a Surat cotton manufacture, very full colour and thick (Milburn, vol. i, p. 44; and Yule and Burnell, *s. v.*).

[2] A score (Yule and Burnell).

[3] Coco-nuts.

[4] Same as Chowtars (Milburn, vol. ii, p. 221).

[5] Turban-cloth.

[6] Dootie (Milburn, vol. ii, p. 221); dhootie (Yule and Burnell); the same as dhoty (loin-cloth).

[7] Priaman, W. coast of Sumatra, 95° 15′ E. long. and a little S. of the line.

Bought here 2½ pipes Rack[1] for the Companye. The wynd at N.W. Allowance, sack and Biskett, 2 meales wheate with honye. Taken in heare 32½ Tonnes water and 2 boates lading of wood.

The 21th [January] I willed the Master to sett saile ; a smale gaile and Raine. We steered neare vnto the E.most Iland of the too that is aganst the watring place, deapth 10 and 9 Fatham, and so to seaboard of all the Ilands E.N.E. from the watring place, for the outermost of them beareth E. by N. N.ly, and of the Norther point of the said Iland lyeth a shoale, which you shall see breake distant from the Iland ½ a league. And having that S. of you, the E. point of Jaua[2] will beare E. southerly. Deapth 17 and 18 fathams, And all the waye out from 20 to 14 Fathams, but heare you shall find a Currant setting E.S.E., which you must allowe for, as you haue the wynd. In the eauening we anckored ; little wynd at N. by W., the Currant setting vs to the S.E. vpone the shoare, deapth 13 and 13½ Fathams, being shott 3 leagues to the E.wards of the E. point 'of Jackatra. Wynd at N.W. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales beefe.

The 22th [January], the wynd at S.W., we wayed and steered E.N.E. to gett deepe water, and finding 14 Fatham, the hie hill over Bantam did beare W.S.W. ½ point W.ly. The outward point that is to the E.wards of Jackatra S.W. by S. 3 and ½ leagues of, and another point to the E.ward bering S.E. by E., with a great round hill ouer it vp in the land that was the outwardmost land we did see, steering E.N.E., and at noone had 16 and 17 Fathams ; esteeming the shipp to be somme 10 leagues from the E. land of Jackatra, and at 4 in the afternoone we had 23 Fatham and steered E. by S., and all night E. by S. and

[1] Arrack.

[2] This seems to be Krawang point, E. of Batavia.

E.S.E., and had 23 and 24 Fatham. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales wheate and honye.

The 23th [January] in the morning, we dockt[1] vp our sailes, the wynd at S.E., and had sight of an Iland which lyeth of Cherrybon,[2] with 3 of those hie peeked hills of Jaua, the E.most bearing S.E., and cherybon S. by E. Lattytude at noone 6d 10m, the wynd at N.N.W., the Iland bering E. by N. 3½ leagues of. I sent my skiff to sound about the said Iland, and found 23 and 24 Fatham within saker[3] shott of the shoare, and then no ground at 30 Fatham, and of the N. point there lyeth a ledge of Rocks aboue water, and on the S.E. ende a low spott with a tree or too one it; hauing made an E. by S. waye 15 leagues since yesterdye at noone, and in longitude from Bantam 44 leagues. NOTE that you maye bouldly keepe betwene 23 and 24 Fatham water in the offing, and in 20 Fatham vpone Jaua, the darkest night that is, and in the daye vpone Jaua in what deapth you please, but there is manye deepe bayes and hie hills in the Counterye, but the land to the seaside is verye lowe. At 6 at night the Iland did beare N.W. by W. about 10 leagues. We steered E.S.E. and E. by S. all night, deapth 25 and 26 Fathams, the wynd at W.N.W. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales beefe.

The 24th [January] in the morning we had sight of 3 hie peeked hills and 3 other to the E.ward like Ilands. Deapth 20 Fathams, the point of Jaua bering S.E. by S. and the Iland lying of it S.E. and N.W. about 9 leagues

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[1] "Dockt-up our sails" presumably means "shortened sail."

[2] A province of Java, Cheribon. The island mentioned seems to be Boompjes Eylt. (Pulo Rakit).

[3] A piece of artillery from 8 ft. to 10 ft. in length, throwing shot from 4 lbs. to 7 lbs. weight (A. N. Markham in *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, p. 41 *n.*) According to an earlier author, a piece weighing 1,400 lbs., with a calibre of 3½ in., and throwing a shot weighing 5½ lbs. The range was 170 paces point-blank, but it would "shoot at random" 1700 paces (Monson's *Naval Tracts*, in Churchill's *Voyages*, 1782, vol. iii, p. 305).

of: We steered E. by S. and E.S.E. Lattytude 6d 10m, waye E. 28 leagues. From noone we steered E. by S., wynd at N.N.W., 27 Fatham. And at 2 a clock the wynd vered to the W.N.W. a stiff gaile, contynuing our course E. by S., and at midnight had 26 Fathams, and at 2 had 22 Fathams, and the nearrer the shoare we founde the harder ground and to the offen oaze.[1] Then we stoode of N.E. and N.N.E. till daye, and the lowe land to the W. ward of the N. point of the land S.S.W., and the Saddeld[2] lowe land S.E. by S. 4 or 5 leagues of, and an Iland of it N.W. by N. somme 10 leagues. Then we steered E.N.E., but the best course from the Iland afforesaid is to steere E. by S., for it will bring you in the middest betwene the head land which is called Cobina[3] and the Iland which lyeth of it S. westerly 5 leagues. Of it is the head land, with a smale Iland at the S.E. point, and yf it be cleere you shall see 3 sharpe hie hills ouer the lowe point, the one at equall distance from the other, and are called the 3 armanos.[4] Allso you shall see hie land to the E. ward rise like an Iland, but com no neare[r] then 20 Fathams in the night. Lattytude at noone 6d 6m, waye E. by S. ½ point S.ly, 16 leagues. The smalle Iland at noone bering S.W. by W. 7 leagues of. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales Beefe.

The 25th [January] we steered E., the wynd at W. by N., keeping in 30 Fathams. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales wheate and honye.

The 26th [January] breake of day we had sight of the Iland called Pulo Labuck,[5] bering N.E. by E. 8 leagues of,

[1] In the offing ooze, or mud.

[2] Having a depression between two elevated points, like a saddle.

[3] To be distinguished from the island of Cambina referred to on p. 12. The latter is mentioned (as Cambyna) in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. i, p. 455, and (as Cobina) on p. 226 of same volume.

[4] Tres hermanos: Three Brothers.

[5] Apparently the same as Lubec of the map in Milburn, vol. ii, p. 384, E. Long. 113°, S. lat. 6°. The Admiralty Chart, however, calls the island which occupies this position Bawean.

Wynd at W. by N. We steered E. by S., deapth 34 and 35 Fathams, and about 9 of the clock had sight of land bering S.E. and S.E. by S., the Iland afforesaid bering now N.E. by N. Little wynd. Lattytude 6d 12m, waye E. and E. by N. 22 leagues, wynd at W., the Iland at 4 in the afternoone bering W. by N. 9 leagues of; deapth 34 Fathams. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales Beefe.

The 27th [January] Lattytude 06d 04m, waye E.N.ly 28 leagues, deapth 38 Fathams, and at 3 in the afternoone had sight of an Iland[1] bering N.N.E. 7 leagues of, and at 5 sounded and had 34 Fathams, the Iland bering N. by E. about 5 or 6 leagues of, wynd at N.W. by W. We steered E. by N. tell 12, then had 24 Fathams, the Iland N.W. ½ point westerly, then E., deapth 24 Fathams. NOTE that when we come into 20 Fatham we finde hard ground, but in the faire waye oaze, and the Iland N. of vs. Our deapth did increase to 17 and 18 Fathams, and so contynued betwene it and 24, tell the Iland did beare N.W. by W., and then 24 Fathams. And steering from the first shoale E. keepe in this deapth. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales wheate with honye.

The 28th [January] at 4 in the morning we had 25 Fathams steering E. tell noone. Lattytude 5d 55m, waye E.N. ly 20 leagues, deapth 30 Fathams, and from noone we steered E. by S., and at 4 a clock had 35 Fatham. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales Beefe.

The 29th [January] in the morning 4 a clock, wynd at W. by N. We steered E. by S., but had no ground at 40 Fatham, but at noone 52 Fatham with manye ouerfalls.[2] Lattytude 6d 09m, waye E. by S. 28 leagues, wynd at W. and W. by N., with a Currant setting to the westward. In the afternoone we sounded, but had no ground at 100

[1] Perhaps Great Solombo Island.

[2] "Overfalls" is a good seaman's term still; it may be found on modern charts.

Fatham. Then we steered E. tell 6 of the clock in the morning. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales wheate and honye.

The 30th [January] in the morning we sounded, but had no ground at 100 Fathams. Lattytude 5d 57m, waye E.N.ly 28 leagues, and in longitude from Bantam 224 leagues. The ouerfalls contynuing, but could gett no ground at 100 Fathams. At 3 in the afternoone we had sight of a lowe flatt Iland at topmast head bering N.E. by N. som 5 or 6 leagues of, full of trees, and had 18 Fatham, And at next cast 85 Fatham. Then we steered E. by S., and at 4 a clock it bare N. by E. ½ point N.ly, 3 or 4 leagues of. Then we had sight of 2 other lowe flatt Ilands,[1] the one opening to the E.ward, the other to the westward, so that this is the middlemost. At 6 at night it bering N. ½ point E.ly, we sounded, but had no ground at 80 Fathams. We steered E. by S., keeping our leade in respect of the ouerfalls or ripplings, which were fearfull, but had no ground at 60 Fatham. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales beefe.

The 31th [January], breake of day, we had sight of the Selebes, the wester end rising like an Iland and the outermost hie land bering E. by N.; Lattytude 5d 52m; the E. part bering E. by N. 6 leagues of, waye E.N.ly 16 leagues, and a currant setting to the N.W.ward. At 3 in the afternoone we had sight of a Junke which I stoode with, and had 24 Fathams 2 or 3 leagues of the lowe land that is vnder the high land. We edged into 12 Fatham to speake with hir. I sent my pinnas and fecht the Master aboard to direct me through the straites. The Junke was bound for Amboyne, and weare belonging to a great Junke of the Flemings which we had sight of

[1] Perhaps Kalu Kalu Kuang, Rotterdam Island, or one of the islets of the Spermonde Archipelago (S.W. of Celebes). See Admiralty Chart.

some 3 leagues ahead. At sunsett we tooke in our sailes to keepe short of the straites of desolon, by the naturalls called Solore,[1] and keeping our leade all night we found first 20 Fatham, the hie land N., and so droue into 33 and 47 Fathams, fearing a shoale which lyeth ⅔ of a league from the Selebis. And at lowe water you shall see the breach[2] vpone it. One the Selebes side it is verye dangerous and full of sunken ground, whearefore we haled ouer for Desalon side, keeping a good bearth of, and hauing a peeked hill, which is next to the sea side, rising like an Iland when you are to the W.wards. Then it is N.N.E. and when it is N. then you are twhart[3] of the W. end of the shoale. And then will the Iland, which you leaue one your starboard side, beare E.N.E., so that you maye be bould to steere out in the middest betwene the two Ilands. And when the peeke hill beares N. by W. then you are twhart of the E. end. NOTE that the E. ende of Dessalon showeth like an Iland, and will deceaue you tell you com to it, but hauing brought the N.ther end of the pointe E.N.E. ½ pointe E.ly, Then be bould, for you are cleare of the shoale afforesaid ; It is about 4 leagues betweene them. We came within halfe a mile of the Iland of our starboard side going through, and the wynd taking vs suddenlye short, we sounded but had no ground at 55 Fatham, Right vp and down. Allowance beere and biskett, 2 meales Beefe.

1st February 1612.[4] The prime[5] in the afternoon we weare thwart of the point of the Iland bering S. of vs, and the 2 Ilands which make the straites lying one from the other N. and S. distant 5 leagues, or rather miles. From hence

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[1] Otherwise spelt Selájar or Saleier. This is the name of an island lying off the S.W. arm of Celebes, Pulo Salayar in the Admiralty Chart.

[2] The action of breakers.

[3] *I.e.*, athwart or abreast of.

[4] See note on p. 1.

[5] First day of the month.

we steered E. by N., the wynd at N. and N. by E., Accompting the distance betwene Bantam and this place of the straites 265 leagues. At night the wynd at N.E. and N.E. by N. Wee had sight of a great Junke of Pattanye[1] bound for Ambone.[2] I sent my pinnas to inquire what she was, whoe brought aboard with them three Flemings which weare passengers in hir, there shipp cast awaye vpon Burneo not farr from Soocadanna.[3] The Captain of the Junke sent me a present, viz. 1 Jar of rackapee[4] and a jar of Buffelo,[5] allso a letter from John Parsons[6] marchant of Mackcassar, which is extant. I requited him with a letter of fauor to all English shipps he should meete withall, and discharged the Master of the smalle Junke, which tell this tyme I kept aboard. I gaue him a peece course Callyco, and to the Captain of the Junke 2 peeces fine callyco of my owne. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales wheate and honye.

The 2 [February] in the morning we had the S. part of Desalon S.W. by S., and the N. part W. by N. 8 leagues of. We steered E. by N., the wynd at N. by E. Lattytude 5^{d} 52^{m}, distant from Desalon 10 leagues. And about 3 a clock in the afternoone we had sight of Cambina[7] bering N.E., the N.erne part rising like an hummock or Iland, bering N.E. ½ point N.ly 12 or 14 leagues of. This daye dyed Dauid Usher, Master Trumpitor of the Cloaue, an

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[1] Patani, on the Gulf of Siam, one of the Malay ports belonging to Siam.

[2] Amboina.

[3] See note on p. 4.

[4] Yule says, *s.v.*, Arrack + Malay *āpī* ("fire").

[5] Perhaps butter made from buffalo milk, *i.e.*, cow's milk, the word "buffalo," as Yule remarks, *s. v.*, having been appropriated to the Indian ox, and the true buffalo thenceforth distinguished as "water buffalo."

[6] See Richard Cocks to the E. I. C., in *Letters Received by the East India Company from its servants in the East*, vol. i, p. 312.

[7] Cambina, Cambayna, or Cabaina, an island lying in about 122° E. long., and 50° 30′ S. lat., off the S.E. of Celebes. Kabaena in the Admiralty Chart No. 1263. See also note 3 on p. 8.

honnest and most excellent man in his profession. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales beefe.

The 3 [February] in the morning the S.erne end of Cambina N.E. by E., and the Iland or hummock N.E. 8 or 9 leagues of, Lattytude 5^{d} 57^{m}. The Iland N.E. ½ point N.ly, 8 leagues, waye E.S.lye 5 or 6 leagues. And towards night the wynd at S. and S.S.E. We steered all night E. by N. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales wheate and honye.

The 4^{th} [February] in the morning at 5 a clock the wynd at N.E., at 8 at E.S.E., little wynd, allmost calme. Lattytude 05^{d} 00^{m}.[1] And at 3 we sawe land E. by N., making it to be Bootone.[2] Calme all night. Nickholas Boulton dyed and W^{m} Blunt. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales beefe.

The 5^{th} [February] 3 or 4 leagues of Cambina, we found the currant to carrye us to the N. ward, the wynd at E. by N., and the Iland of the E. end of Cambina N.E. ½ point E. ly 4 leagues of. Then the wynd at S.W. by W., and at E. and E.N.E., little wynd, almost calme. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales Rice and honye, 1 quart a messe.

The 6^{th} [February], breake of daye, the Iland N.E. by N. N.erlye 4 leagues of, the wynd at N., so that this 24 houres we have gotten to the E.wards 1 point. Calme tell noone, then a gaile at W.N.W. We steered E. by S. for the outward land, bering E. by N. at noone, and a little Iland bering N. by E ½ point E.ly. At 4 in the afternoone the Iland N. ½ point W.lye, the E.most land was E.N.E. We stered E. by S. Calme, not hauing made all this night aboue 5 or 6 leagues. Allowance sack and biskett, 2 meales Beefe.

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[1] Perhaps for Lat. 5° we should read 6°. It is 5*d.* 00*m.* in the MS. Probably Saris copied wrongly from the original log.

[2] Boeton, or Bouton, the most easterly of the three islands which lie off the S.E. of Celebes, about 123° E. long., and stretching from 4° 20′ to 5° 40′ S. Lat. Buton in the Admiralty Chart.

The 7th [February] breake of daye the N.erne point was N. by E., and a smale hie land[1] that lyeth to the S.ward six or seven leagues of Batoone, S.E. ½ point S.ly, and the Easter land of Bootone E.N.E. Wee steered E. by N. and E., but left the hie land to the S.wards one our starbord side, and it did beare S.E. ½ half point E.ly. Then was the point of Bootoone shutt in, a long great Iland. The Norther end wilbe N.N.W. This Iland and the other lyeth nearest the bodye of them boath N.N.W. and S.S.E. The wynde at N.W. with raine. We steered with the E. point, and betwene the E. part of Cambina to the westerne part of Bootoone is some 8 or 9 leagues. Lattitude 5^{d} 54^{m}, the long Iland being E. and W. 2½ leagues long, bearing N.N.W. 2½ leagues of, the E. point N.E. ½ point E.ly. This Iland from Bootoone is 2½ leagues of, and one the S. side of Bootoone are 3 pointes, and betwene the 2 westermost is a baye, and the distance betwene the 3 pointes is 3 leagues E.S.E., and the westermost of the 3 pointes and the Iland lyeth the one from the other S. and N. There is another flatt Iland to the N.wardes of the Iland which lyeth E. and W. And we openned it as we openned the same betwene it and Bootoone, but there is no passage betweene them but for small shipps, for there is many Rocks and bancks of Corrall. And boath the W. and E. ende of the 2 Ilands lyeth one from the other N. and S., and the S. parts of Cambina and the E. point of the 2 Ilands lyeth E.S.E. and W.N.W. distant 9 leagues. Then we openned another point. When boath the points are opening and shutting they will beare N.E. ½ point E.ly, distant betwene them 7 leagues, and having the wester point of the 3 before spesified shutting with the point of the long Iland to the westwards of it, Then will they beare of you N.W. by W., being 4 mile to the nearest part

[1] Perhaps Hagadis Island.

or point of Bootoone. Allowance ꝑack and biskett, 2 meales porke.

The 8th [February] in the morning the point which was N.E. of vs ouer night was N. by E. within an other point bering N.N.E. N.ly, some 3 leagues from the other point, so that the land lyeth from boath the points N.E. N.ly distant 10 leagues. At 10 a clock we sawe another Iland called Tingabesse[1] rising round and flatt. Heare we had a Corrant setting N.E., the wynd at N.E. by N. and N.N.E. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oat-meale with honye.

The 9th [February] wynd at N.W. by N., the point of Bootoone N.W. ½ point N.E., and the other land which we did see N. by W., and a hie land opening and shutting of the point N.W. by N., and the N. point of Tingabesse N.E. by E. and S.E. end. There are 3 or 4 Ilands, the S.ermost bering S.S.E. Heare we had sight of 2 Curracurras[2] betweene us and Bootoone. I sent of my Skiff to them, whoe brought one Mr. Weldeing, one of the Expedityons[3] companye, and a Fleming bound for Banda aboard. The said Weldin being imployed in the King of Bootoones businesse for Banda, and had the command of the 2 Curracurras, and his wyfe in companye with him. I resolued to have taken him along with me, but the exseeding lamentatyon he made that it would be his vndoing, having nothing to liue one in his counterye, and in the

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[1] Or Toecan-besi, a group of eight or ten islands lying five or six miles E. of Boeton (Valentijn, *Banda*, p. 132), Tukang Besi in the Admiralty Chart, the largest being Wanchi Island.

[2] *Cora-cora*, in the language of Amboina, meaning a vessel propelled with sweeps, and carrying fifty to seventy men (Valentijn, *Moluccos*, *Glossary:* see also Yule and Burnell, *s.v.* Caro-coa).

[3] The *Expedition*, Captain David Middleton, sailed from the Downs, April 20, 1609. Welden is mentioned several times in the *Letters Received by the East India Company*, vols. i and ii, and there is a very full note about him at p. 308 of vol. iii of that work. His "wyfe" was doubtless a native woman.

waye of doing himselfe good heare, I was content not onlye to let him take his course, but furnished him for Sir Tho. Smythes[1] sake with what he desired, viz. 3 shirtes, 3 pare linnin breeches, 3 Bands and cuffs of my owne, hauing promised to repare to the Factorye at Bantam the next monsone. Lattitude 5^{d} 20^{m}, wynd at E.N.E. We steered N., and at night the wynd S.ly, we steered N.N.E. And from the E. point of Bootoone the land falls away svddenlye, with 2 or 3 Great bayes to the N.W.wards, and 3 great Ilands which lye to the N.ward of Bootoone which maketh the straites. The N.ermost lyeth from the point before spesified right against Tingabesse N. by E. distant 14 leagues. NOTE to goe through the straites of Bootoone, it is not aboue a league braude, and the enterance is one the N. side of the Iland. And yf you com from the westward, being thwart of the N.W. point, your course is E.N.E. and E. by N. vp to the roade and noe danger but what you shall see, but you must leaue the 3 great Ilands to the N.wards of you, but goe not betwene anye of them. And fauling with the W. end of Bootoone, goe not betwene the Iland that lyeth of it, for there is 2 longe Ilands, but leaue them one your starboard side, for it is full of broken ground betwene them and Bootoone, but yf the wynd serue you then hale to the N. ward of all the Ilands, ether betweene Bootoone and Cambina, or else to the N. ward of that too. And so you maye keepe the coste of Selebis, for it is boulde. All night little wynd at N.W. and W.N.W. We steered N.N.E. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 10th [February] in the morning the straites of Bootoone did beare N.W. by W., and the mayne Iland of Tingabesse S.S.E. ½ point S.ly, and the straites of Tingabesse S.S.W. ½ S.ly, and at noone the N.er Iland N.W. by

[1] Governor of the East India Company.

N. 7 leagues of, hauing made a N.N.E. waye from 4 yesterdaye in the afternoone 12 or 13 leagues, the wynd at S.S.W., and at 6 at night it was N.W.erly 8 or 9 leagues of. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale and honye.

The 11th [February] at 5 in the morning the wynd at N.W., the Iland W. 10 leagues of, we steered N.N.E., and at 7 the wynd at N. and N. by W., Lattytude at nowne 4^{d} 08^{m}, waye N.N.E. E.ly a little, 24 leagues, and of the E. point of Bootoone 35 leagues. The wynd all night betwene the N. and N. by W. This daye dyed Mathie Hunt. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 12th [February] little wynd at N. by W., lattytude 4^{d} 06^{m}, waye E. by N. 20 leagues. Allowance Rack and biskett, 2 meales Rice and honye.

The 13th [February] in the morning we had sight of the Iland Borro,[1] being hie land, the one point bering N.E. by N.,[2] and the other E.N.E. 10 leagues of, the wynd at N. by W., having made to nowne 7 leagues. Lattytude 3^{d} 41^{m}, the N.er point at present N.W.ly 6 leagues, and the E. point E. a little S.ly, and at 3 in the afternoone weare somme league of the shoare, wynd at N.W. by W. We stoode of S.W. and S.W. by W., and at 10 at night stoode in tell 3 in the morning. Then calme, the wynd at E.S.E. We laye N.N.W., then the wynd N.N.W. and N.W. by N. Thomas Madge dyed. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 14th [February] in the morning we stoode in, wynd at N.N.W. and N.W. by N. At 8 wee bore up with the E.

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[1] Or Boero. Bouro or Buru in the Admiralty Chart.

[2] These cannot have been the bearings of the two extremes of Buru Island. He was well to the Northward if his latitude is correct. Captain Ottley thinks the points referred to are most probably the West extremity of Taliabu and the South extremity of Sula Besi.

part of the Iland to seeke for some place to ride in. At 10 a clock it fell calme. At noone I sent my Skiff to sound before. At one a clock we had the wynd at E.N.E., at 2 at N.E. We stoode after our Skiff to the N.wards. Then the wynd E.ly, we steered N. by W. and at midnight the Skiff retorned, finding no fitt place for the shipp to ride in, deepe water shoare[1] too. Allowance Rack and biskett, 2 meales beefe.

The 15th [February] in the morning calme, we being of the point of land we sawe yesterdaye bering N.E. by E. som 4 leagues of, wynd at E. and E.N.E. We steered N. by W. This side of Borrow lyeth S.E. E.ly and N.W. westerly 10 leagues, and at the wester point the land falleth awaye to the N.wards some 5 or 6 leagues, and then it sheweth Rounde. Lattytude 3d 40m, wynd at N. and N. by E. Finding a Currant out of the N.erne board,[2] And hauing the point N.E., we tackt in E. by N. At 5 weare som 3 or 4 leagues of, and then stoode of, wynd at E.N.E. We steered N. by E. tell 8 a clock, then the wynd at N.N.E. We steered N.W., and in the night N.W. by N. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 16th [February] breake of daye, the Northermost part of Borrowe E. by N. 9 leagues of, little wynd at E.N.E. and N. by E. Allowance sack and biskett breckfast, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye and Rack supper.

The 17th [February] little wynd, the E.[3] part of Borrowe bering E.N.ly, wynd at N., at noone N.W. by N.; the

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[1] For "sheer to," *i.e.*, the cliffs descended sheer into the sea, with deep water close to them.

[2] Northern side.

[3] This should, thinks Captain Ottley, read W. Mr. Foster says it is clearly E. in the MS., and suggests that in this and some other cases Saris confuses E. and W., meaning by "E. part" the part which lay east of the ship.

N. part of Bootoone E. by S. and 3 Ilands which we now have sight of at Topmast head N.E. by N. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 18th [February] we weare in the morning by the E.most Iland 3 leagues of, wynd at N.N.W., it bearing N.N.E., and when you haue the E. point N. ½ a point E.ly then you shall open an other point. At noone we weare within a mile of the shoare. I sent of my Skiff, whoe spake with the Counterye people, our Spannyard speaking the Ternatan language verye perfect. This Iland is called Soola.[1] We had 15 Fatham the shipps length of the shoare, and a mile of no ground at 100 Fatham, the west part of Borowe lying S. ½ point W.ly and N. ½ point E.ly 14 leagues the one from the other. Wynd at W. the land streching N.N.E., being a long Iland. We steered awaye N.N.E., the shipps waye to noone N.E. ½ point N.ly 9 leagues. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 19th [February] in the morning at 3 a clock it was calme with Raine. Then the wynd at W. and S.W., we steered N.N.E.; waye N.N.E. ½ point E.ly 14 leagues. Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meals Rice with honye.

The 20th [February] wynd at E. by N., we steered N. by E., Lattytude at nowne 1d 30m, waye N.E. 7 leagues. Little wynd tell 5 at night, A gaile at W. and N.W. by W. The N.ermost land we did see bering N. Little wynd all night, somtymes at N.W. and at N.E. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 21th [February] in the morning we weare 4 or 5

[1] Xulla or Soela Islands. Sula Besi in the Admiralty Chart is the most southerly of the group.

leagues of an Iland called Haleboling[1] by our salors, being a hie copped[2] Round Iland, different in shape from all the rest of the Ilands in sight, and by some which had beene in the Dragon heare in anno 1605 called as aforesaid. The wynd at N.E. and at E., hauing made to this noone a N.E. waye 4 leagues, Lattytude 1^{d} 16^{m}, the point of Haleboling or Bachan N.E. by N. 4 leagues of, and the outwardmost land N. ¼ westly, finding a currant setting N.E. The wynd all night at N.N.E. and N., for the most part Calme. Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meales Beefe with wheate.

The 22th [February] in the morning we had sight of land N. by E., it being the Iland called Mackian,[3] verye hie land. Heare we had a Corrant setting N.N.E. Lattytude at nowne 00^{d} 51^{m}, waye N. 7 leagues, varyatyon at sunsetting 4^{d} 12^{m}, wynd at N. by E. and N.N.E. Allowance sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale honey and wheat.

The 23th [February] in the morning we weare 3 leagues of the land, wynd at N.N.E., seeking a place to anker in, and within a quarter of a mile of the shoare had 40 Fathams, wherefore we bore vp to the S. part of the Iland, where we had 20 and 19 Fathams for a cast or too, but then no ground. Wee steerd from this S. point E.S.E., for so the land lyeth open of the point of the hie round Iland, being 4 leagues betwene the 2 pointes, but the wester point is an Iland with 3 or 4 others to the

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[1] Probably so-called because the navigator had to haul the bowlines in approaching the island, that is, sail close on a wind in approaching it. This is, suggests Captain Ottley, the little island of Mandioli, 7 miles west of Batjan, or Bachian. "We came fair by an island not specified in our cards; it lieth west-south-west from the southernmost island of Bachian some fourteen leagues. This isle off Bachian, we gave to name Haulbowline, for that in seven days' sailing we got not a mile" (*Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Malucos*, p. 31).

[2] Rising to a top or head.

[3] Makjan or Matchian. Makyan in the Admiralty Chart.

E.wards, which you cannot perceaue till you be verye neare them. Then the land faleth awaye N.E. and showeth a great round sound or baye[1] with land of boath sides, verye deepe. This round hill is Bachan, and yealdeth great store of Cloaues, but by reason of the warrs they are waste. The people not suffered to make there benyfitt thereof will not gather them, being by the Flemings and Spanyards oprest and made to spoyle one another, while the two natyons sett in strong foartes looking vpone them. I sent for the Master and his mates, and required there opynyons what was best to be done, hauing no ground to anckor and could not get to the N.ward. There opynyons was to put back to there Haleboling, which I disliked of, and stoode of all night, hoping to haue a shifte of wynd to carrye vs to the Iland Mackian, wheather I pretended.[2] Allowance Rack and bisket, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate and honye.

The 24th [February] in the morning, the hie land S. by E. 10 or 12 leagues of. The Iland seemes Ragged. I willed the Master to stand in, and a league of the point sent of my skiffe to sounde and to looke for water, but retorned aboard finding no water nor place to anckor in. Wherefore we stood in to the baye, and presentlye had sight of a forte and Towne called Bachan. The pinnas ahead finding fresh water in diuers places, but steepe too, intoo the Codd[3] of the baye, wheare the Flemings haue a foart excellent well contriued and the toune hard by it. Heare we came to an anckor, hauing had verye vnsertaine shoaling as 70, 60, 8, and 10 Fatham, but oaze. Heare we lett fall our ankor, saker shott of the forte. The Flemings saluted me with

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[1] This is well shown by the plan in Valentijn, *Moluccos*, p. 90. The fort is there called Barneveld.

[2] Whither I designed to go.

[3] The central bight of the bay: the middle portion of a seine is called "the cod."

5 peeces. I requited them with as manye, but the kings man [being] aboard [I] tould him it was to the King, whoe sent word he woulde com to me but the Flemings had intreated him to the contrarye. In this forte is 13 peeces, 1 demye culueryn[1] of Brasse, the rest saker and mynyon.[2] The forte is verye artificiallie[3] and warlike builte, the Flemings more feared then loued of the naturalls, which causeth theire better benyfitt, for the naturalls allreadye tell vs they dare not bring vs a cattye of Cloaues but vpone there liues. As we ride here the outwardmost point is S.S.W. and the other S.W., distant from vs 4 leagues.

The King sent the Admerall and diuers of his nobles aboard to bid me welcom, knowing as they said by my flagg of what natyon I was, Vsing many Complimentall speeches, wishing that we weare so seated in theire Iland as the Flemings, and that they weare cleere of them, theire counterye allmost spoyled by warrs. I vsed them kindlye and retorned frendlye speeches to the King, acquanting him that my coming was to procure trade and to leaue a factorye in his counterye yf he so pleased. Which they said they heartelye desired, but was not at present possible, yet would they acquant the King heareof. I caused 5 peeces to be shott off at there going ashoare. The Captain of the forte came aboard to vizite me, by whome I vnderstood there force to be but of 13 peeces and 30 soldyers, the most of them maryed, some to the Counterye women, and some to Holland women, wheareof the Captain

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[1] A gun 12 ft. to 14 ft. long, and 6½ in. calibre, throwing a shot 33 lbs. weight. It had a point-blank range of 160 paces, but would throw a ball to a distance of 2,000 paces (Markham, in *Voyages and Works of John Davis*, p. 181 *n.*). But in Monson's *Naval Tracts* the calibre is given as 4 ins., the weight of the shot 9 lbs., point-blank range 230 paces, and it shoots "at random" 3,000 paces.

[2] According to Monson, this piece had a calibre of 3½ ins., throwing a shot weighing 4 lbs., with a point-blank range of 150 paces, and shooting "at random" 1,500 paces.

[3] With art, skilfully.

tells me his fortres is fitted with eleven, able to withstand the furye of the Spannyard or other natyon without exceptyon, being of an excellent breede and furnished with fewe good quallytyes. But it seemed they followed there leader, for no sooner the Captain aboard but his she soldyers followed, complaning of great misserye, setting downe with the salors at victualls at first coming. I caused them to haue what the shipp affoarded, and after sent them with there captain ashoare. NOTE that it is reported by the naturalls that this place doth yeald 750 baharrs[1] of Cloaues yearly, yf they might gather them. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate and honey.

The 25th [February] the King sent a Complimentall sallytatyon to me, which I requited with the like, and after dynnor went ashoare and had our sayne haled, but took little fishe. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 26th [February] the Cape marchant of the Flemish factorye at Aanbon,[2] bound from hence thether, came aboard to vizite me, whoe I kindlye intertaned, and at parting gaue him 3 peeces ordnance and to his Master a peece Calico, for that I had certane intelligence of him of matter which maye proue benyfityall to our proseedings. The King of the Iland and Captain of the forte sent me presents of Cokers and plantans, intreating me ashoare, but for that they came together in such frindlye fashion, I douted the lesse hope for me to procure Cloaues, the thing I sought for. I refused there shoare curtesie and requited there presents, viz. to the Fleming a barreeco of wyne, 10 peeces poudered Beefe, 1 bagg biskett, 3lb. reasons[3] of the sonne, 3lb. Currance, 3lb. proynes, the

[1] Usually given as three piculs = 400 lbs. avoirdupois. But see further on, under date March 17th.

[2] Ambon, *i.e.*, Amboina.

[3] Raisins.

fruite of my owne provytyon. To the Kinge a shashe,[1] a fine allyia,[2] 1 peece white Callyco, and at there going of gaue them 3 peeces ordnance, the Fleming being the ansaent[3] bearer in the forte, and the other the King's Sabandare. The Captain of the forte tooke his present so kindlye, as he with his preacher brought there victualls and came aboard to supper, wheare I vsed them kindlye, but tooke no great pleasure in there company, douting they came but to feare[4] the naturalls from bringing cloaues aboard. At parting I gaue them 7 peeces, and at retorne to the forte he requited me with 5 peeces. Allowance Rack and biskett, 2 meales Rice with honye.

The 27th [February] we fitted to take in our water. I sent Mr. Cocks, Mr. Peacock and the rest of the marchants to vizite the Captain of the foart, wheare they weare kindlye intertaned, and at parting had 5 peeces ordnance out of the forte. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 28th [February] the Cape marchant of the Duch[5] heare came aboard, his name Leuen Martson and maryed to one of the Kings kindred heare, a man of 35 yeares verye well quallyted, as speaking many languages, Mallayes, Ternates, Aribeck,[6] Turkish, Spannish, Portyguese and French, being an excellent accomptant, writing a faire hand. He made known vnto me the hole state of there business heare in the Mollocos and at Japan, with promise to deliuer me the Coppye verbatim out of the Companyes Journall kept by him, whearein was entered the trafick that each shipp had in anye part or port they weare consigned vnto and came from. Earnestlye intreating me to take

[1] Turban.

[2] Said to be a silken stuff from Turkestan (Yule and Burnell, *s.v.* Alleja).

[3] Ancient, or ensign.

[4] Intimidate the natives.

[5] Dutch.

[6] Perhaps Arabic is meant.

him along with me oute of the misserye and slauerye he liued in, being in great want of all mannor sustenance and much misvsed by there chiefe commaunders, which came heare in shipps, inforsing[1] his wife (whome they inforst him at first to marye), To his great greefe and shame, and not able to helpe himselfe, his wages but 18 rials per moneth, which he never receaued penye, but in victualls from them at vnresonable rates, and not suffered elsewheare to provide himselfe, which course was Generally vsed by there masters heare in the Mollocos. So that not onlye himselfe, but all the rest of there natyon ashoare, the Captain and preacher excepted, would leaue the forte and goe with me yf I pleased to except[2] them, And would haue com all yesterdaye aboard, but that perforce they were detaned. I intreated him kindlye, and labored with him for what benyfityall intellygence I can gett, for aduance of our Trade in these parts, [he] hauing promised instantlye to goe in hand to take out cheefe notes for Japan And such prinsipall matters as I haue given him rememberance about, [I] Satisfying him at present that I will think myselfe vpone the convenyent taking him with me and so resolue him, with promise to be secrett however. And towards night he retorned ashoare. Allowance Rack and biskett, 2 meales beefe, and meale for dumplings.

March 1612. The primo Leuen Martson came aboard and broate me diuers notes of there proseedings in these parts, being verye importunate to go awaye with me, but not yet resolued of that matter answered him as affore. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 2 [March] Momerick,[3] my swart, ran awaye againe.

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[1] Enjoying by force. [2] Accept.

[3] Mbarek would be the more usual spelling. In a letter written by Saris at Bantam to Edward Camden, he says: "Mumbarrick shall

He swome ashoare in the night and was gotten to the Mores howses, wheare he reported that we had robed and spoyled the most of the holye men of Mecka, with other villainus speeches, but not daring to remane in towne, our people cutting of woode found him in the woods, and brought him aboard, wheare he remanes in his accustomed locker. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 meale oatmeale and honye.

The 3 [March]. I took Mr. Hounssell[1] with me and sounded alongest the E. side of this baye, And at the opening or going out neare to a little Iland we found a place to anckor in 12, 16, 20 Fathams, currall[2] grounde, without Commaund of the forte ; a shoale to the S.wards some 3 cables lenght. Lattytude 00^{d} 50^{m}. Allowance sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 4^{th} [March] the King sent me a present, viz. 10 hennes, Cokers and sugar cannes by his preest. In requitall I retorned him thanks, and to his preest a shash and to his 4 men ½ a piece of fine duttye apiece. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 oatemeale and honye.

The 5^{th} [March] varyatyon at sun rising 4^{d} 48^{m} E.ly. There came a More aboard with a muster of Cloaues, offering to sell me some quantytie yf I would go to Mackian. This More was sent by a man of great accounte of that place, and was at present heare in Batchan. Through which occatyon I held it good to staye the next daye to haue some conference with him, his name Key

trouble you no more, for I have taken a course to keep him fast and hope to bring him to Japan" (*Letters Received by the East India Co.*, vol. i, p. 204).

[1] Richard Hounsell, master's mate of the *Clove*, afterwards master of the *Attendant* (*Letters Received*, vol. iii, p. 331).

[2] Coral.

Malladaia. Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meales Rice and honye.

The 6th [March] staied to speake with this Caualeere, and for that the Flemings should not suspect anyething, sent the marchants ashoare to vizite them. This Gallant came to me, and was well intreated. He promised to goe with me for Mackian, and to bring me to a place there called Tahane,[1] and presently put aboard me too of his cheifest men to pilat my shipp a most excellent neare and vnknowne waye by our English to the said Mackian and roade of Tahane, willing me to goe before and staye for him at a certane Iland by the waye, and a daye or too after he would com to me, yf not, to proceade to Tahane, and he would not be long after me, Giuing me great incurragement of good store of Cloaues. I presented him with 1 peece shash, 1 peece white Bafta, 1 Roule match, 1 cartridg of pouder and a good quantytye of Tobacco, which he tooke kindlye. He tould me the flemings gaue 50 rials a baharr for Cloaues, but they would stand me in 60 rials, which I willingly promised, and wish the shipp weare laden with them at that rate. At midnight he went ashoare, but desired no peeces might be shot of, because the Flemings should not knowe of his being with me. Allowance sack and biskett, 1 meale oatmeale, 1 meale beefe.

The 7th [March] in the morning we wayed ankor out of this Roade, called Amasan, and by our pilotts direction, which Kei Malladaia hath lent, we steered in W. and W. by N. for the Iland Mackian, leauing 2 Ilands 4 or 5 miles from the place we set saile from one our starboard side, deapth 22, 30 and 40 Fathoms 2 Cables length of the Iland. And of the southe ende of the next Iland as you goe through is a little white square plott aboue water, with

[1] Or Tihane, on the S.E. side of Makyan.

a tree or bushe in the middle thereof. And from thence S.E. lyeth a banke or shoale, and is not aboue a mile from the mayne, the passage being W.N.W. and E.S.E. 6 or 7 miles through, with a Currant setting to the W. wards in the daye time, and to the E.ward in the night, but no danger but what you shall see, onlye at the wester part of the strate is an eddye, and there are little flatts one boath sides, but most on the Southerne side. In the entrance is 12, 13½ Fatham, and com no neare[r] then 10, and open of the point we had 30 and 40 Fatham. And turnd it out,[1] the wynd at N.W., and 2 mile of the straites to the Westwardes, it being calme and the Corrant beginning to sett to the E.ward, we Anckored in 40 Fathams, the place verye spatyous to turne a hole night, and wood and water in aboundance. Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meales Beefe with meale for dumplings.

The 8th [March] in the morning we wayed, yet calme, but helpe of the tide. Much Raine, little wynd S.ly and then at W. Deapth 40 to 22 Fatham about 2 myles from the N.ern shoare or Bachan (so all these Ilands which incompas vs heare is called the Ilands of Bachan, and the most part yealdeth Cloues, but are wast for want of gathering). Heare is a passage out to sea from emongest these Ilands. But you must keepe alongest the N.ern side, called La Boa de Bachan,[2] from the strait afforesaid, to a poynt hauing a round Iland or homock 4½ leagues, leuing manye Ilands one your larboard side. And you shall see manye Ilands in the offing S.W. and S.W. by W. But this

[1] Perhaps opened out the point to view, clear of intervening land.

[2] Mount Laboa, in the South of Bachian, seems to have given its name to that part of the island. Valentijn, *Molukse Zaaken*, p. 237, says Laboewa is a great island, only a "goteling" shot from Batsjan, and that the fortress Barneveld is on Laboewa. But at pp. 119 and 235, he gives it to be understood that it stands on Batsjan. Saris, starting from his anchorage near Barnevelde (Bachian town of the Admiralty Chart), seems to have worked his course to the North through Herberg Strait.

waye wee goe is much more nearer to Mackian or any the Ilands of the Molocos to the N.ward ; it lyeth from the strate called Sedogan[1] to the strate of Namacota,[2] which you must leaue one your larboard side, and 2 Round Ilands on the starboard side, the passage being not aboue a cables lenght ouer. And the course from strate to strate S.E. and N.W. distant 4½ leagues, and it is to be noted that from the strates to a pointe bering N. by W. you haue 22 and 23 Fatham coming through and 9 Fatham close into the Bushes, but keepe in the midest and the currant will carrye you through, but take enoffe to the westward, for you will thinke the corrant will put you vpone the N.ermost Iland, and when it is N. by W. giue it a bearth, for of it is a sandye banke, but you shall have 14 Fatham cloase aboard it. And when you are open of the pointe you shall see a passage into the Sea W.S.W., but it is but for smalle crafte to passe there, being full of Currall banks. And to the N.wards of the shole of the pointe is a sandye banke with Rocks, but there is 15 Fatham, yet the water showes white. There the sound trenteth[3] N. and N. by W. being in some places 5 miles ouer and in some other 3 leagues. Then you shall open a little homock or small Iland which lyeth in the opening of 2 pointes N. of you, which is the waye out, and being Cleere you shall see Mackian ouer the westerne pointe, and another Iland a little opening of the Easter pointe. And in the faire waye is from 20 to 15 Fatham, wheare we anckored, the tyde spent, not farr of a little round Iland lying in the midest of the waye. Allowance Sack and biskett, meale wheate with honye, 1 Beefe.

The 9th [March] Calme, the Currant setting to the

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[1] This looks like "Sedozan" in the MS.

[2] Perhaps Bachian Strait, now so-called, and the Strait between Gt. Tawali and Mandioli.

[3] *I.e.*, trendeth : turns off

S.ward: Then the wynd at N.W. and N. by W. with Raine. At 10 we wayed, a currant to the N.ward, we turnd it out. And of the pointe, which is one the W. side 5 or 6 miles, within the passage where the little Iland lyeth, are 2 sholes a mile of the wester side (wherefor coming in or out keepe the middell). There is 3 Fatham vpone them, And the deapth ouer from side to side is from 14 to 20 2½[1] and 21 Fatham: So we torned it within a league of the little Iland in the strates mouth, and at night calme. Anckored. Allowance Sack and biskett, beefe and meale, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 10th [March] we wayed and had sight of Mackian, being an hie and copped Iland bering N.E.ly, And the Iland Tidore opening like a Sugarlofe one the wester side, but not so hie land as Mackian. And it is shut into the point of the westerside of the outwardmost Ilands of the 3[2] that lyeth in the going out, 2 of them being without the narrowe or strate, and the 3 maketh the strates itselfe, yet there are more Ilands one the Easter side. But the Currant setting to the S.wards, we Ankored in 23 Fatham a mile of the little Iland in the strates mouth. So that the distance from the strates of Namorat[3] To this passage is 5 leagues. And from the Roade of Amasane wheare the Flemish fortrest standeth 14 leagues. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 11th [March] in the morning we wayed, the wynd at S. by E., and corrant setting to the N.ward. We passing the straites, The wynd vered to the N.W. by N. We stoode to the E. ward tell noone, then we tackt to the W. ward, the wynd at N.N.W., and had sight of Gelolo,[4]

[1] Written 20. 2½. Probably 20, 22½ is meant.

[2] Perhaps the Lata-lata Islands.

[3] Same as Namacota above.

[4] Gilolo or Djilolo; Gillolo in the Admiralty Chart.

being a long land; deapth going out 29 and 34 Fatham, and manye Ilands to the E. and E.S.E. The pointe of ould Bachan lying to the N.wards of the strates some 3 or four leagues, leauing 4 Ilands on the starboardside. That which maketh the strates one that side is called Taually Bachar,[1] and when you are a little without the small Iland which lyeth in the strates, you shall haue 18 Fatham a cast or too, and then it will deepen, and standing to the N.wards you shall open other Ilands to the westward, called Tamata,[2] with a Rock like a Saile a good distance of the pointe of it. And ankored at an Iland bering N. westerly 3 leagues from the Strates in 43 Fathams, wheare on the Southerne point is a shoale hauing 3 Fathams one the Skerts, and is drye at lowe water, which shoale reacheth ouer to the S.[3] part of Bachan, we riding ½ a mile of the shoare. This Iland is Called Taually.[4] The wynd at N.N.W. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe and meale, 1 meale wheat with honye.

The 12th [March] heare I stayed all this daye for Key Malladaya, being the place he appoynted to com to me. This Iland is distant from Mackian[5] 10 leagues. Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meales Rice with honye. Heare we haue good store of wood, but no water.

The 13th [March] our Boats ashoare for more wood, and the Coopers provided themselues of rotans[6] for water caske, which make excellen hoopes, and is heare in great abundance of all syses. The shoale afforesaid now drye,

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[1] Great Tawali in the Admiralty Chart.

[2] Tameti in the Admiralty Chart.

[3] S. in M.S., but see note on p. 18.

[4] This seems to be Tameti; it is also called Little Tawali (*Eastern Archipelago, Eastern Part*, p. 398).

[5] Makyan in the Admiralty Chart. From Tameti to Makyan is just 30 nautical miles.

[6] Rattans: Malay, *rotang*.

bereth W. by S. halfe a mile of vs, and another point a mile of or little more N.N.E.; wynd at N. Allowance sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 14th [March] for that he[1] came not, his seruants douted that the Flemings seeing vs to venture through this passage amongest the Ilands, did suspect him and perforce kept him. Wherefore I sett saile, The wynd at N. by W., and plyed vp for Mackan. The N.er point of Taualy and the N.er point of Lattetate[2] which we set saile from, bering one of the other W. by N. and E. by S. distant 6 leagues, and the N.er end of Taually and the boddye of Grochie,[3] the great Iland, lyeth the one of the other N.W. 4 leagues, and N.N.W. from Grochie are 4 or 5 smale Ilands, which couereth the mayne of the great Iland, and are distant from it 5 leagues N.wards, and there are manye Ilands N.E. by N. called Mottere.[4] The sounde lyeth cleare of all the Ilands betwene Bachan and Gelola (alyas Batta China[5]) S.E. and N.W., and is verye braud, but hath Ilands one the Starboardside as you go to the N. ward.

The channell betwene Bachan, Mackian, Tidore, and Ternata[6] lyeth N. by W. and S. by E., and is six leagues ouer in the narrowest part. We laye becalmed all night twhart of Mackian. Allowance Biskett, 2 meales Beefe with meale for Dumplings.

The 15th [March] in the morning we passed betwene Battachina and Caia.[7] Lattytude at nowne 00d 17m to

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[1] *I.e.*, Key Malladaia.

[2] Lata-lata in the Admiralty Chart.

[3] Guarichi in the Admiralty Chart. Goaritji in *Eastern Archipelago, Eastern Part*, p. 398.

[4] Motir. This seems a mistake. Motir lies some 5 miles due N. of Makyan, and is a single island.

[5] Valentijn, *Moluccos*, p. 93, calls the western part of Gilolo Batoetsjina.

[6] Ternate.

[7] Kayoa in the Admiralty Chart.

the norwards, So that Macan[1] is not trulye plased in the platts,[2] for that there the Equinoctiall cutts it in the middle, and we find it to stand 5 leagues more notherly. Wynd at N. by E. and N. by W., with a Currant setting to the S.wards, varyation 4^{d} 58^{m} E.ly. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 16th [March] in the morning we weare faire by the Iland of Caia, the wynd at N. by E. Heare we had sight of a saile to the N.wards, which by a fisherman we vnderstoode to be a Fleming bound from Mackian to Tidore with saugo and other provytion. So towards night we weare hard aboard Mackian, but stoode of tell morning; wynd at N.N.E. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 meale oatmeale and honye.

The 17th [March] in the morning we weare faire by a forte of the Flemings called Tabollola,[3] wynd at N.E. We stoode to the S.wards, the Currant setting vs to the N.wards. Then the wynd at E. by N., we steered with the E.most point, and came to an anckor at 4 in the afternoone in the Roade of Pelebere[4] hard by Tahanne in 50 Fatham, within calle of the shoare, hauing one pointe of the land S.S.W. 2 miles of, and another N.E. by N. 1½ miles of, and the Iland Caia S. fiue leagues of. This night some smalle quantytie of Cloaues weare brought aboard, the price sett at 60 rials of 8 per Bahar of 200 Cattyes, each cattye 3 lb. 5 oz. English. I Receaued a letter from Key Malladaia at Bachan, excusing his staye to make

[1] *I.e.*, Makyan.

[2] Charts; sometimes spelt "plot." This seems to be the same word as that applied to land, *e.g.*, in grass-plot, the spelling of which varies in the same way. Cf. "platte out and describe the situation of all the Ilands, rockes, and harboroughs to the exact use of Navigation, with lynes and scale thereunto convenient" (*Voyages and Works of John Davis*, p. xviii).

[3] On the south of Makyan, called Tabollola or Tabilolo by Valentijn (*Moluccos*, p. 91).

[4] Poliweri (see map at p. 90 of Valentijn's *Moluccos*).

2 frinds, but shortly would be with me ; And in the meane tyme had written to the people to helpe me to what Cloaues they had, and to procure all they could for me with all speede. Given to the messenger a peece white Callico. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale Beefe and dumplings, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 18th [March] in the morning came aboard a Sangaca[1] proffering manye curtesies, which for more assurance of performance of what was in his powre, I gaue him a silke Alleia and a pees white Bafta, and to his childe a shash. There came 2 Flemings aboard with him, whoe I refused to speake with and to haue anye mannor felloshipp with them. Would kepe the Cunterye people from bringing vs Cloaues aboard, which we came for. They weare inquisatiue to knowe whoe pilated vs to ride in this place, seing it could not but be one of the naturalls, and yf they knew him they would cutt him to peeces before our fases. And that we did them wrong, this being there land, which they had wone with there swordes. And vnderstanding heareof by Mr. Cocks, I sent him to them to bid them gett them to there fortes, and tell there Captanes that what mvnytyon I had or other Commoditye, yf they would trade with me they should haue it before anye other, for that we weare nabors ; other knoledge I tooke none of them or of there land, but heare I would Ride and Trade with whome pleased to com aboard. And so they parted, Threatning the naturalls which weare com aboard, that yf they knew them to bring anye cloaues to vs they would put them to death. The counterye people made light of there threates, and said they held vs there frinds, and would com aboard to vs. Bought this daye 300 Cattyes Cloaues, for which we paid them in Cloath of Cambaya, and sould some for

[1] Valentijn, in the vocabulary prefixed to his account of the *Moluccos*, has " Sengadji, Hertog," *i.e.*, Duke.

Readye monye. Giuen to a Caualeere in hope of his fauor to procure cloues to be braught aboard 1 pes white Bafta. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe and Dumplings, 1 meale oatmeale with Honye.

The 19th [March] the 2 Flemings came aboard againe, and in there table bookes offered to sett downe the names of the Counterye people which came aboard our shipp. Wherefore I caused the boatswane to turne them out of the shipp, and to tell them yf they came aboard againe he would bang them. So they departed, giuing him foule speeches. I sent diuers of the Companye to walke ashoare, and to see what intertainment the Counterye people would giue them. They went up to the Townes of Tahanne and Pelebre, And weare verye kindly intertaned, but tould them the Flemings did so work with Key Chillisadang, the King of Ternates sonne, whoe was newly com and did command them not to sell vs anye cloaues, the Flemings inforsing him to laye this charge vpone them vpone paine of death, otherwayes they had rather we should haue them then the Flemings, which opressed them. And towards night the prince passing by in his Curcurra, I sent of my pinnas well fitted with a faire Turkey carpett and Crimsen silke and Gould cvrtens, intreating him to com aboard, which he tooke kindly, but craued pardon at instant, but in the morning would vizite me. Giuen to the pilatt which brought vs from Batchan, whome we finde heare to be a man of good request and able to helpe vs to Cloaues, 20 rials of 8 and 1 pes Casianne ;[1] more sent to his wyfe 2 lb. pepper and 40 lb. Rice. Bought this daye 227 Cattyes Cloaues, And sould pryttye quantytye of cloath cambaya for Redye monye. Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meales Rice with honye.

The 20th [March] in the morning a kinsman of the

[1] Some kind of piece-goods.

King of Ternata, the Cheife preest and the Casis[1] of Tahanie, came aboard and put me in good hope of Trade. I gaue each of them a peece of Tapseele[2] for a vest, which they Tooke kindlye, promising to assist me in what they could. And they weare no sooner gone but a Corra Corra came aboard from the King of Ternata, whearein was a Sangaga of greate accounte, whoe brought a Fleming with him to heare what conference past betweene vs. I intertaned the Ternatan in my Cabbin, and would not speake with the Fleming, vnderstanding him to be onlye sent to the end afforesaid, which pleased the Sangage well, whose busines was from the King of Ternata to confer with his brother Key Chellye Sadang heare about the cause of my Comming, and to profer me the King's fauor in what he or his counteryemen could doe (desiring to know what force more I had), for thereby they could the better helpe me to my lading, making the Flemings present weaknes boath in shipping and in people knowne to me, And Crauing pardon that he did demaund the same of me, For that thrise[3] our natyon haue beene heare before, whose demenor they did genrally affect,[4] and had promised to com and vizite them with more shipping, but yet could neuer see more then one at a tyme, So as they could not for want thereof manifest there true heartes vnto vs, And being oprest greatly by the Flemings and Spannyards, had they but the King of Englands assistance

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[1] A Mohammedan divine (Yule and Burnell, *s.v.*). Probably "Cadi," judge, is meant; see Yule and Burnell under "Cazee."

[2] Tafçílah, a stuff from Mecca. Tapseil is mentioned in Milburn (vol. i, p. 289) among Surat cotton piece goods. Is *tafachelas*, the name of a striped cotton cloth formerly imported from Switzerland into Japan, the same word? Valentijn (*Choromandel*, i, p. 159) mentions "Taffatsjelas" from Casseri.

[3] These three visits were: Sir Francis Drake in 1578; Captain (afterwards Sir) Henry Middleton in 1605; and his brother, David Middleton, in 1608.

[4] *I.e.*, like.

by shipping to furnish them with victuall, they could at a sudden cleare there Counterye of the too other natyons. I held it fitting to hould him in hand[1] of 2 more shipps I had coming, and expected them everye daye (to incurrage them the more to aduenture to bring me spice aboard), earnestly intreating him that yf he did heare of them to be at anye other Iland heare about, as Tidore or Ternata, that he would giue them to vnderstand of my being heare at Mackian, expecting them as by directyon, douting[2] there not being allreadye heare to haue hapned by contrarye wynds or Corrants; which he not onlye promised to doe, but to send a Curra Curra of speede vnto me with the happie tidings. I gaue this Sangaga for a present 1 pees Tapsill and 2 pees silke Alleiayes. And being entred at least halfe an howre into his Curra Curra, and not putting of, vnderstoode he stayed for the Fleming, whoe had laded his head so full as his leggs weare not of abillytye to carrye his Sowst[3] boddye. The Caualere vnderstanding thereof departed, and our hole shipp's Companye had no little Troble with him. Brought aboard this daye 58 Cattyes Cloaues, and sould good quantytie of Cambaya cloath for Redye monye. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 21th [March] the drunken messenger made amends by sorrofull showe of his nights busynes, and was sett a shoare. And after came an oran Caya[4] aboard, who tould me that by the waye a Curra curra of the Flemings had searcht 3 or 4 prowes[5] or cannooes coming aboard to

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[1] To keep in a state of uncertainty; amuse with the view of gaining some advantage.

[2] *I.e.*, conjecturing.

[3] Soused: drowned in liquor, drunk.

[4] The head of one or more villages: properly, a rich man (Valentijn; Yule and Burnell, *s.v.*).

[5] Parahoe or praauw, a small vessel consisting of a tree hollowed out (Valentijn).

me with Cloaues, and taken them from them, Threatning death to them at the next offence in the like, And since my coming had disfurnished there fortes, keeping the Iland about by the seaside,[1] that none should bring vs spice, And that they had sent ouer a Curra Curra to Tidore for too great shipps to come ride by me, one ahead and another astarne, to beat me out of the roade or to suffer none to trade or bringe me anye refreshing. Giuen to the pilatts mate which brought the shipp hether, 1 peece duttye, 1 peece white bafta and 1 peece Candakeene.[2] Wee receiued this daye 44 Catties cloaues and sold some Cambaya cloth for monye. Allowance Biskett breckfast, 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 meale beefe.

The 22th [March] we had sight of one of the Flemings shipps coming aboute the pointe, so that we had little commerse, the people afrayde. I Receiued a present from Key Malladaia of diuers meates readye drest and fruites, Signifiing that he was not yet com from Bachan, but daylye expected, yet I verylye thinke he is come, But keepes cloase to see how matters will passe, The Flemings hauing reported ashoare that they should see vs Rune out of the Roade at sight of one of there shipps. Giuen to them which brought the present, viz. 1 pees Silke Aleia, 1 pees white Bafta, 1 peece Blew Byram, and 2 peeses Candakeenes, And to him which brought the first parcell of cloues aboard 1 Candaquene. Receiued this daye 29 Cattyes Cloaues, And sould good store of cloath for monye. And at night the Fleming came and ankored astarne me, but within calle. The shipp is called the Red Lyon, and hath 30 peeses ordnance, The Captain one Block,[3] which

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[1] *I.e.*, guarding the coast.

[2] A low-priced cotton cloth from Cambay (Burnell's *Linschoten*, vol. i, p. 60, *n.*).

[3] Adriaan Martensz Blocq, who was afterwards Governor of Amboyna. He is called "Block" in the Dutch records. See Tiele's

came out Generall of the 11 saile last from holland. We vsed verye blockish intertainment one to the other, not once speaking nor shooting, yet both provided.[1] Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 23th [March] the Captain of the Flemmish, accompaned with diuers soldyers, went a shoare, and at landing had 3 peeces shott out of his shipp, marching in state by our shipp, threatning the naturalls that we could in the shipp understand there conference. Whearefore I presentlye sent Mr. Cocks, Mr. Craulye and Mr. Wickham ashoare in my pinnasse well fitted, and sett out a swart to carrye a faire kittasall[2] ouer them. And at putting of the shipp gave them 5 peeces ordnance, willing Mr. Cocks to walke towardes the Flemings, and finding them to meete them, to vse like courtesie, yf not to sett still and maintaine state. To goe hard to them and take vp a waye to Tahannie and Peleberie, And passe tyme with the naturalls. And finding anye good quantytye of Cloaues to buy them, and send them aboard garded by our owne people. But the Flemmings remaned setting, and our people without respect of there Greatnes, in the sight of the Counterye people, walked vp to the Towne, and weare well vsed, but the prinses charge was such as they dared not sell anye cloaues, albeit there was som in there howses. They tould Mr. Cocks that the Flemming at his coming a shoare had protested that at ariuall of

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Opkomst van het Nederl. Gezag in Oost-Indie, second series, vol. i, p. 110, etc.; also vol. ii. of same series, p. 159, and De Jonge *passim*. The *Roode Leeuw met Pylen* was one of the ships under Verhoven that left the Texel December 22nd, 1607, but she arrived home again in December 1611. She came again to Hirado, in Japan, in August, 1612, and in February 1613 was at Bantam. She was again in Japan in 1617 and was wrecked at Hirado.

[1] *I.e.*, on the alert.

[2] Portuguese, *quitasol*, *i.e.* umbrella.

there other shipp from Tidore, which they expected daylye, they would take and make prise of us, vsing manye base speeches of our natyon. This daye we had littell or no trade, for the people feared to bring victuall aboard, there command being to the contrarye. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 meale wheate and honye.

The 24th [March] The prince of Ternata, Key Chilli sadano, sent me word he would come and vizite me. I made redye to intertane him. At coming he Rowed 3 tymes Round about the shipp, hauing diuers other Great Corra Corras with him, and at enterance I ordered 5 peeces ordenance, bringing him to my cabbyn, wheare was provided a suffityent bankett to haue beene sẽt to his Father, with musick and all necessarye, which much contented him. He promised faithfullye to tollorate the people to bring cloaues a board, praiing me to haue patyence but for a daye or too, that he had aduise from Tidore, his brother being theare. Gluen him a present, viz., 1 doble lockt peece damasked, 1 Turkeye carpett, 1 fine shash, and 1 redd shash of silke and Gould. And at departure 7 peeces ordnance. I writt to Key Malladaya at Bachan. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 25th [March] in the morning a Curra Curra of the Flemmings came rowing by the ship, vsing a song of scoffing and mocking our people, as they had done manye tymes before, which vrged them to complane. Wherefore I caused my pinnasse to be well fitted, and at coming back againe, if they contynued there course, to run aboard and sink them. They came singing and scoffing according to there custome, my pinnas ran aboard of them with such a surge[1] as the water came through hir sides, there being in

[1] Speed, or shock, or rush. As in the expression: "surge the cable," *i.e.*, run it out with a rush.

her 3 of the Captains of there fortes, well fitted with shott and dartes: our men well provided, and 2 good foulers in the skiffs head. They laye a good while aboard of hir, and charged them to take this for a wardning, and giue ouer there scoffing of them, or the next time they would teach better manner; and so came aboard. I did this the rather too, for that they vsed to rowe ouer our canboyes,[1] and had lik to haue sonke them, which was a discurtesie, but they promise it shalbe so no more. And towards evening they sent vnto me one Christian a marchant, with a writing from there doctor in droites,[2] whoe as I heare is there cheife heare in the absence of Butt.[3] The effect whereof was to lett me knowe that all the people of the Mollocos had made a perpetuall contract with them for all there cloaues at 50 rials per Bahar of 200 Cattyes, in Respect they had deliuered them out of the seruitude of the Spannyards, and not without the losse of much blood and expence of great wealth, willing me that I should not mooue the people from obedyence, which might torne to their great dammage, They houlding the Counterye to be there owne, as Conquered by the Sworde. Allso that these people owed them much monye, which they haue aduansed to be paid in Cloaues. I Retorned answer that I would not meddel with there busines, nether had anye thing to doe with what dets was owing to them, But would trade heare with anye man which would deale with me.

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[1] A hollow buoy, made of metal.

[2] Law.

[3] *I.e.*, Peter Both. His Treaty with the Sengadji and chiefs of Makyan is given by Valentijn, *Molukse Zaaken*, p. 224. Art. 2 stipulates that cloves are not to be sold to any but the Dutch, at the rate of 50 rials of 8 the bahar, for ever (*En beloven de voorschreve* Sengadji's *en* Principalen, *uit naam van de geheele gemeinte, dat zy hunne* Nagalen *aan geen andere uit heemsche* Natie, *als alleen aan de* Dienaars *van de* vereenigde Compagnie, *zullen verkoopen, en dat niet hooger dan* vyftig Realen van agten *de* Bahaar, ad perpetuitatem). The Sengadji negotiated as representative of the King of Ternate. Valentijn gives the date as January 16th, 1613.

We discovered 2 Gallyes at the Topmast head, which the counterye people weare in good hope had beene the 2 English shipps I expected, and before we had sight of them brought vs worde thereof. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale Beefe and dumplings, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 26th [March] sould to Key chillye sadange 1 Barrell Gunpouder for 30 Rials. And towards night the Sangaga of Ternata came to tell me he was now going with the prinses letters to the King in my behalfe, and said he thought good to call and see yf I would [send] anye thing to him. I esteemed this a Kinde of begging of a present for the King, wherefore I conferred with Mr. Cocks and Mr. Peacock what they thought fitting. It was resolued viz. 1 piece Symyan Chauter,[1] 1 piece bafta, 1 peece sandall harere,[2] with which he departed well contented. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 2 meales Rice with honye.

The 27th [March] I sent our people to walke ashoare, but to haue no famillyaryty with the Flemings, which for ought I could heare was well performed. The Flemings doe inforce the prince to lye with his Curra Curra hard by astarne, To keepe watch that none bring anyething aboard us, for in my sight he Commaunded a Canowe aboard him which was coming to vs, I thinke with spice, and made him retorne and not goe aboard ether of us. And towards night 2 of the cunterye people came and brought som refreshing and a Beame to waye spice with. Giuen in requitall 2 duttyes, 2 bookes[3] Cally[c]o and a candikeene.

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[1] Cp. *Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 317. Symyan = semianoes (see *Roe*, p. 322, etc.); chauter = chowter.

[2] "Harere" occurs as a qualification of various kinds of silk piece goods; it seems to be the Hind. *harir*, silk. Can "sandall" be *sendal*, which *Webster's Dictionary* defines as "a light, thin stuff of silk or thread," deriving it from Spanish *cendal?*

[3] A piece of calico folded in a book-like manner (see *A New English Dictionary*, *s.v.* Book-muslin).

Allowance Biskett and Rack, Beefe 1 meale, wheate with honye.

The 28th [March] The prince vnderstanding that I tooke it not well that he ridd so neare me, to the fearinge of the Cunterye people, he remoued and went about a point further of, whereat the Flemings weare much discontented. And in the afternoone mand my skiff well, and went to haue vizited him and to haue proued yf I could haue made anye agreement with him for som quantytye of Cloues, but he was gone to the Wester side of the Iland. But Block, seeing me to goe into the baye, followed me with his Curra Curra, and would haue landed wheare I was, but I would not suffer him, which the cunterye people seeing, and that he retorned aboard againe, came presently downe of the better sort of them, protesting verye deepely that yf my other too shipps weare com in they would revolte. They sent for Cokers and other fruite, and bestowed vpone the ging.[1] The master, seeing the Fleming to make such speed after me, mand the long boate, but vpon a sine which I caused to be made they retorned aboard. At night for a farwell to certane oran Cayas I gave them 3 peeces.

Allowance Biskett, 1 meale Beefe and dumplings, 1 meale Beefe.

The 29th [March] I sent W^m^ Eaton and Deago[2] vp into the Cuntery for Cloaues, vnderstanding of one which had som and durst not bring them downe. They retorned aboard with them vnwayed, the partye promising to com a daye after aboard for his content.[3] A present was brought me by a Sangaga of the Cuntery, viz. 17 Cattyes Cloaues and certane eatable commodytyes. The Cloaues I caused the purser to put into hould emongest the Companyes, and gau him in requitall a peece Tapseele. Another present

[1] In Shakespeare and Milton used for "gang, company" (*Century Dictionary*).

[2] Diego.

[3] Satisfaction, payment.

was brought of etable commodytyes. Giuen to him 1 peece duttye, and 1 peece Candakeene. The pilates brother brought another present of the like, and had a peece candakeene. This night we had a great storm of rayne, Thunder and lightning, but I prayse God our shipp ridd smoothe. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe, 1 oatmeale.

The 30th [March] the Flemings brought the prince to ride by vs in his ould place, And towards evening Came another Flemish shipp called the Moone. She came to an anckor so neare ahead of vs as we could scarse wynd cleare one of the other.[1] She is a propper shipp of 32 peeces good ordnance, but not aboue 50 men. The prince sent to excuse his coming back, for that it was to expect the messenger sent to the King of Ternata, whome he appointed to come to this place to him. But I esteeme what he now sayes faulse, and that he dare doe nothing but what the Fleming directs him. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 oatmeale.

The 31th [March] in the morning a Canowe was coming aboard me, but the prince stayed him, and sent him aboard the Fleming, wherefore I sent Mr. Wickham with an interpreter to the prince to knowe the occatyon, and when I should heare from the King of Ternata, and to tell him that yf he feared these 2 Flemish shipps, all I desired of him is but to remaine an newter, and permit my companye to goe ashoare and trade with his people for victualls, yf not otherwayes, and to fill som water. And in respect he was the prince of the Counterye, I requested this of him, which allowed, he should see that these 2, with there other 2 they threaten to send for, shall not keepe from me what I wanted. He willingly granted to the feching of any necessarye the Iland affoarded, And sent the messenger

[1] *I.e.*, *swing clear* of one another's anchors.

from Ternata Aboard to me, whoe said that the King recommended him vnto me, desiring to see me, and then he he would doe me anye lawfull fauor he might. This Sangagia was one of accounte, and spake the Mallaya language verye perfect, and knew that I vnderstoode him therein, yett for state would vse a Jurebassa[1] to tell me his message, which I answered by Jurebassa againe, one of the Salors. The conclusion of the Kings answer was that tell I came to him, there could be nothing done ashoare, And so departed, Wherefore I suspect this to be som blockish answer framed by the Generall of the Flemings heare, For presentlye after the prince and the messenger went aboard Captain Block, and at parting had 3 peeces giuen them, the prince hauing in our sight beene diuers tymes before there, and they gaue him none. I sent Mr. Cocks, Mr. Craulye and diuers other to walke ashoare and see what the Flemings would doe, for there dalye speeches to the Counterye people of our natyon was so base as was not to be indured. They conferred with the Cheife ashoare what they would doe, telling them that yf they would but bring there spice to the water side, we would stand to the hassard yf that the Flemings tooke it after we layed but hand thereone, and would paye them for it to a penye. They said they Generallye labored to Trade with vs, But the Flemings force more then owres was the occatyon the prince nor themselues could not doe what they are willinge, praying them to tell me that at night they would come aboard and speake with me, intreating for the Skiff when it was darke. And while they were in this Conference a cannowe was coming aboard me, which the Flemings seeing sent of there skiff, and in the braud side of me made 3 shott at them ; the people leaped ouerboard

[1] Interpreter. "This word is really Malayo-Javanese *jurubahāsa* ; literally, language-master" (Yule and Burnell, *s.v.*).

and swome ashoare, and Toing[1] the Canoo aboard there admyrall, I caused my Skiff to take hir from them, and bring hir aboard, which they dyd, and 2 howres after I sent them with hir ashoare, and deliuered it to the cheife of the place. And in the night late the Casis and cheife came downe according to promise, but brought a lanthorne and Candel light before them, which the Fleming perceauing sent ashoare the most of there men to intersept them. And I sent my people to reskew and bring them aboard yf they found them willing, and to take in and defend what spice they had brought downe. The Flemings had incompased the naturalls with som 60 shott, match in cock. Our men brake in and put the Casis and 3 more of the Cheife to enter our skiff, hauing 2 good foulers fitted, and my Coxson, a lustie man, by them, which brought the Flemings to a bitter,[2] we but 14 and the Mackians 6, each with his sword and Targett. The Flemings would haue them aboard, our people would take them into the Skiff. So that ashoare and in the shipp we stoode only vpone the first shott. I sent my Master (the Captain of the fort and Block being gon ashoare) with order to tell the naturalls that if they would without more words enter my Skiff, he would bring them a board; yf into the Flemings Skiff, I had nothing to saye to them; yf into neather doe as they pleased, for my people should see them free to there one howses. They Concluded to retorne back, And our men seeing them free retorned aboard, The Flemings leauing there people ashoare to keep Gard that no other came to vs. But presentlye it rayned so extreamelye, contynuing all night with Thunder and lightning most fearfull, as there senternell wished in the morning for a faire daye to drye themselues and there peeces. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oatmeale.

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[1] *I.e.*, [the Dutch] towing. [2] A better [mind].

April, 1613. The primo I sent Mr. Cocks and the marchants to confer with the Casis and the rest about the matter they would have com aboard for yester-night, But they weare preuented by Capt. Block, whoe followed him so as the Casis would not be seene, and at retorne the Flemings had sett vp a Corpes de garde, and out of there shipps and fortes plased 120 men ashoare, which morning and evening sett and discharged the watch with drume, fife and Ancyent. Captain Block came to Mr. Cocks, and willed him to tell me that I sent my people no more ashoare in the night, for yf I did he would kill them. Mr. Cocks answered him with laufture, and so lefte him. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 meale oatmeale.

The 2th [April] I conferred with the Master, willing him to sett them to fill water, for I would to saile with the first faire wynd, hauing littell more hope of lading heare. I sent Mr. Cocks and the marchants to the Chiefe ashoare, to acquant them that seith[1] Key Malladya came not, nor they durst bring me no more spice aboard, I would with the first of the wynd sett saile, wishing that I had not beene inforsed to carrye awaye my commodytyes, which I was willing they should haue had at what resonable rates they pleased, and must for my profit be inforsed to furnish the Tidorians there enymyes therewyth, yet would vizit them about 5 monethes hence; whereat, as they said, they seemed to be joyfull. And presently sent for an Anckor aboard. At noone I observed,[2] and found this roade of Pelebery to stand in 00d 26m to the N.wards of the Equinoctiall, varyation 3d 28m, the hiest land in the Iland of Mackan bering N.N.W. ½ point W.ly. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 2 meals Rice with honye.

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[1] Since.

[2] Took noon observations of the sun (probably the usual latitude by meridian altitude).

The 3 [April] Calme. I sent diuers ashoare to walke. And the Flemings had a sermond ashoare vnder a Tree, the Domine standing in a praue.[1] The salors tould our people that they were resolued when we sett saile, one or boath of the shipps to dogge vs tell we weare out of the Mollocos. This daye dyed W^m. Smart, Calker of the Cloaue. Allowance biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale.

The 4^th [April] calme. We could not sett saile, and after noone 2 Flemings came swiming from the shipps in a shure of raine, the one a spie, the other for releefe. The spie entred in the head, and being demaunded his businesse he said he came to buy a paire of Cardes,[2] which vnderstanding of I gave order they shoulde make much of him, purposing to get some further cause of his coming out of him, and then to haue sett him fast, but being suttell of a sudden, or upon the intelligence of one Boules in my shipp, he leaped ouerboard and swome ashoare. The other by the masters reporte being a lustie man and a salor, earnestly intreated intertanement, which I granted, but would not be seene in, willing the Master to conseale him, and from hence he should haue wages, his name James etc. And in the night I caused faulse allarames, when it Rayned, to be made, which drue the Flemish Corpes de gard out of there spritsaile scaunce[3] into the wett, and there noyse raysed the people to armes, so that they were partakers of the wett, but no further matter passed. The Skiffs of boath the shipps presently mand to share with them in the same pillage. Allowance Biskett, breckfast 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 meale beefe; dynnor and supper sack. Easterdaye.

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[1] The clergyman standing in a canoe.

[2] Pair, *i.e.*, a set. a pack of cards. Compare "pair of stairs" for a flight of stairs (*Century Dictionary*).

[3] Sconce, or shelter.

The 5th [April] we wayed, littell wynd; the Currant setting to the S.ward, we droue to sea, and being vnder our foresaile I willed the Master to call to [the] Skipper of the greater shipp, called the Moone, And to tell him that I was bound for Tidore, and would haue him gett vp his anckor and followe me. He answered he would, and being ahead him, he made a faire shott vnder my starne which I presently answered close ahead his admirall, expecting further, but heard no more of them. At noone they boath wayed and followed vs, but the wynd at S.W. had put vs so farr to wyndward as the Cunterye people came aboard with cloaues for a tyme as fast as we could waye and paye for them, the Flemings not able to impeach[1] them. Allso there came an oran Caya aboard, whoe said he had a good parcell of cloaues, which yf I would but com nearer the shoare in the morning, he would bring them aboard, which I promised to doe. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 6th [April] diuers small Cannooes came aboard, and braught about a ¼ part of a bahar of Cloaues, but no newes of the Gallant I stayed for, tell towards evening, standing nearer the shoare than I was willing, calme and the sea putting vs in, we had sight of a wefte[2] ashoare. Sent of my skiff and spake with the oran Caya, whoe said that his goods weare readye, and in the darke would goe with them aboard, but presently a Curra Curra of the Flemings passing by put him into such a feare, as albeit my folks would haue wafted[3] him, yet durst he not aduenture, so they retorned. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale Beefe and dumplings, 1 meale wheate.

[1] Prevent, hinder; Fr. *empêcher*.

[2] "Waft," generally used at the time for a signal (sometimes the verb, "to waft," meant to convoy).

[3] "Convoy." See previous note, and *Letters Received*, vol. iii, pp. 132 and 319.

The 7th [April] in the morning we weare thwart of Mootiore,[1] being distant from the wester pointe of Mackian 4 leagues N. by E. ½ pointe E.ly, And N. from it 3 leagues is the Iland of Marre,[2] And 2 leagues from that Tidore. There is passage betwene, or one anye side of, these Ilands without danger. We had sight of the 2 Flemish shipps to the S. wards of vs, plying after vs. Lattytude at nowne 00d 35m, the wynd westerly. At night the wynd varyable. We plyed to and again all night; verye Tempestious weather. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale wheate.

The 8th [April] Marro N. by W. som 2 miles of the bodye of it, and 1 pointe N. by E. ½ pointe E.ly, and the other N.W. by N. ½ pointe westerly, And the peake of Tidore N. by W. And opening the E. pointe of Tidore and the wester point of Bachan, they will beare the one from the other N. and S., and the Bodye of Marre W.S.W. ½ pointe S.ly, and the westerne part of Tydore that you shall see W. by N. Looke well out, for in the faireway is a longe shoale, which lyeth even with the water at hie water, the water showing whitish, and stretcheth N.E. and S.W. betwene Marre and Battachina, And having brought the poynts of the Ilands as aboue said then it will be E. of you. At lowe water you shall see it, for it ebeth 6 Foote, the Tyde setting 6 howres to the N.ward and 6 to the S.wards. But keepe close to the Ilands, for there is no feare. The Spanniards forte is one the E. side of the Iland Tidore, where is deepe water shoare to. And fauling calme suddenly, a great sea setting us in to the shoare, The foort made a shott at me, but willingly so short as I might see the bullett grase. I answered with another, with a shott to seaboard. Then they made 2 shott, intending to strike me, The one betwene the missen mast

[1] The island of Motir.
[2] Mareh, or Potbakers in Admiralty Chart.

and antient staff, the other betwene the mane mast and foarmast. Then they shott a peece from the top of the forte without a shott. I answered a peece without a shott. And presently they sent of a boate with a flagg of truse. The sea still setting vs upone the shoare, no wynd nor Ground at 100 Fathams, so that we could laye it of[1] no waye, 2 Gallyes riding vnder the fort, when the boate was put from the shoare shott there 2 chase peeces, but without shott. The boate came and tooke a fast[2] astarne our shipp, whearein was two spanyards soldyers of good ranck, knowne to Hernando the Spanyard I brought per force from Bantam for the occatyons as afforesaid, who acquanted me of there fashion. There arrant[3] was from the Captain Generall of the shoare, Don Fernando Byseere, To knowe what natyon we weare, what I came for, and whye I came not to an anckor vnder the Kings Majesty of Spanes forte. I willed Mr. Wickham to desire them to com aboard. They said they weare Commaunded to the Contrarye whearefore I willed to be lett them downe from the poope wyne and Bread in a string, which they tooke and fell to lustylye in so great a shure of rayne as I haue seene, yet would not enter the shipp. I retorned answer that I was the subiect of the Kings Majesty of England, as by my cullors they might desearne. They said the Flemings had manye tymes past by scott free by showing the like, whearfor they made those too shott, thinking I had beene a Fleming. And that my coming was to doe his Majesty of Spanes frindes in these parts the best good I could, But would not ankor heare, but further ahead, wheare, yf it pleased Don Fernando to com aboard, he should be welcom, with which answer they retorned contented ashoare,

[1] Could not haul off the land by any means.

[2] A rope put out at the stern of a boat to make her fast by, in addition to the painter at the bow, is called a stern-fast.

[3] Errand.

and suddenlye it pleased God to grant us a Gaile, so that we stoode alongest the shoare. The Generall sent off the pilatt maior of the Gallyes, called Fransisco Gomes, a man of Good presence, with Compliment and, telling me I was welcom, offering me his assistance to bring me into the best anckoring place, yf I pleased vnder the forte or else wheare about the Iland. And darke brought vs to a place about a league and half of the forte, wheare as he said was no force.[1] And so intreated after supper to be sett ashoare, for that the Generall would despatch awaye letters to Ternata to the master de Campo Don Jeronimo de Silua[2] for resolutyon in all points, and so departed, for without his directyon they could doe nothing. At his going ashoare shott 3 peeces. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale Beefe and dumplings, 1 meale wheate.

The 9th [April] in the morning before daye, finding that we weare within comand of 8 peeces ordnance wheare we rid, gott vp our anckor and rid a league further to the S. ward in 35 Fatham. Gomes the pilat came aboard with one or two Spanyards more of good fashion, whoe I receiued kindlye, so that they tooke there lodging aboard. The Generall of the fort sent me a present, viz. 10 henns, 1 Goate and certane fruites, which I requited with 10 peeces poudered beefe, 10 peeces porke, 100 cakes Biskett and a Barreco of wyne, with Complyment that yf anye thing in the shipp might stand him in steade it was at his seruice, Intreating that he would not make strange to acquant me with his wants of victualls and munytion, which to the vttermost I could I would furnish, And take Cloaues for Content, desiring speedye answer, for I would not staye long and should be sorrye to heare of his heare-after want of what thus freelye I offer. Giuen to the boy

[1] Perhaps meaning "no sea, or swell."

[2] Governor of the Moluccos, appointed in 1610 (Valentijn, *Molukse Zaaken*, p. 240).

which came with the Cauilere which brought the present, 1 pees Caziome[1] harere cost 1 rial. The 2 Flemish ships plyed as yf they would haue com to anckor by us, but after went *at* [and ?] rid at there new fortres called Maraeco.[2] Allowance biskett and Rack, 2 meales Rice with honye.

The 10th [April] I expected newes from the master de Campo at Ternata, and at nowne Deago de La Coba, an Alferris,[3] came with a letter from the Gouernor importining (*sic*) nothing but Compliments, intreating me to his Castell at Ternata, with other eydelnes, as per the letter extant, so that I haue no hope of getting Cloaues heare, the people of the Counterye not daring to com aboard in anye sort. I acquanted Gomes the pylatt of Don Jeronimo de Silua his answer, and that seeth they made more respect of Cloaues then of the curtesie I had com thus farr out of my waye in loue to offer them, being such munysion as I haue had certane intellygence since my ariuall they wanted, but for what occatyon refused I knew not, I would depart. He intreated me to staye for a daye or too, And he douted not but the Generalle would better bethinke himselfe and deale with me for what Cloaues they had, which he protested was not aboue 50 Baharrs, A friggatt of 200 [tons] 4 monethes sence hauing carryed awaye all they had at that present. And desired to goe ashoare to Don Fernando Besero, to see what other course might be taken touching these affares. Wherefore sett him ashoare in my Skiff. I Gaue vnto this Gomes a Quadran, a sea Compas and a Blanke.[4] The master gaue him a halfe houre glas

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[1] See notes on pp. 35 and 42.

[2] Mariėko, a fortress belonging to the Dutch on the island of Tidore (*Molukse Zaaken*, p. 248). Valentijn says it was built by the Spaniards (*op. cit.*, p. 101).

[3] *Alferez*, Spanish for ensign or sub-lieutenant.

[4] *Blanke*, "a kinde of money, coyned by King Henry the Fifth, in the parts of France which were then subject to England, the value whereof was 8d" (Blount's Law Dictionary, quoted in *A New English Dictionary*). But perhaps a blanket is meant.

and a halfe minit glasse, 1 hemysphere and a dipsie[1] line, and Mr. Cocks gaue him another Quadrant for to observe the sun. To the Allferris giuen a peece Tapseele and 2 pare of the shippes shoes.[2] And 3 peeces ordnance at parting. And Towards evening Gomes came aboard with a message from the Generall to intreat me to staye, and in the morning he would com aboard and vizite me with the Sargant maior of Ternata, whoe was at present ariued with a letter from the master de campo to giue them leaue to deale with me for diuers matters, and to content me in what I requested. Wherefore I resolued to staye in hope of some Good. And towards night came a Coracorra by bound for Batta China, whoe acquanted me that they weare sent purposlye thether to Acquant the Captain of a Gallye of theres theare that we weare Englishmen and frinds, intreating me from the Generall that yf she came by me in the night that I would suffer hir to passe quietlye. I gaue them answer that they might passe at there pleasures, But in the night I advized them not to come neare the shipp. And heare vpon, douting som trecherye, Commaunded doble watch to be kept all night, match in hand and all our ordnance readye, allso caused diuers light matches to be honge vp in divers places, as one the poope and foarcastell, for better grace to our force. The Curracurra retorned an houre before daye, but kept cloase by the shoare, and of the Gallye we yett heard nothing. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate.

The 11th [April] I expected the Generall according to promise, and hearing 9 peeces ordnance to be shott out of the foart, provided for them, making accompt they weare coming. But it proued to be for the ariuall of the prince of Tidore, whoe had beene out in warr, and was retorned

[1] Probably a "deepsea line" is meant. [2] See note on p. 57.

with 100 Ternatans heades, his force 60 smalle shott, 2 Brasse Bases[1] and 3 or 4 foulers, the slauter done vpone the King of Ternata his sonne Key chillye Sadange, whoe the Flemings had inforsed ouer from Ternata to Mackian, to keepe the Counterye people there from selling me cloaues. And in retorne back, the king of Tidores sonne liinge in waite purposelye for him, and vpone sight of them kept himselfe behinde a point, and sent out 2 smalle prowes to fish in the waye of them, which they seeing gaue chase to. The fishermen retird easylye to the pointe, they earnestlye following fell into the hands of there enymyes, and was not one man saued of 160, the prince one of the number, whose head the conqueror brought to his wyfe, sister to the prince of Ternata slaine. At first incoming the Barrell of pouder which the prince had bought of us at Mackian Tooke fier, which was there confusyon. There was slane with the prince one of his younger Brothers, and the King of Gelola. Towards evening there came aboard me Steuen de Balcasar, sargant maior of Ternata, and Francisco Arsaue, Sekretarye to the state, with Compliment as formerly from Don Jeronimo de Silua, Intreating me to com to Ternata and he would at full performe what he promised, which I granted vnto, yt being in my waye. At parting I gaue them 5 peeces. Allowance Biskett breckfast, 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 meale porke.

The 12th [April], the wynd S.ly, I thought to haue wayed Anckor, but our Cable foule of a Rock, which we could not cleere it, the tyde [being] spent. This daye the Sargant major sent me a present, viz., 14 hennes and a peece of dammaske, which I requited with 3 yeards Broade cloath paid for to Mr. Cocks. He sent this present by the allferris, whoe lost his rapyer entring the

[1] Base, the smallest kind of cannon used in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries ; diameter of bore 1.25 ins., weight 200 lbs., weight of shot 0.5 lb. (*A New English Dictionary*, *s.v.*).

shipp, but I gaue him a better. He sent monye 60 rials to be bestowed in braud cloath, which Mr. Cocks tooke and sent him 10 yeardes the same braud cloath I sent him for a present. The prince of Tidore sent his prinsipall man vnto me to compliment, and showe me that by reason of his late skirmish with the Ternatans he could not, as he was willing, com to vizite me, but shortly would, And had som store of Cloaues which I should haue, And that he would permit his people to make saile of what they had vnto me. I retorned answer that this night I purposed to sett saile, but for his sake would staye till morning, intreating dispatch yf he pleased to trade for anye thing I had. Giuen to the messenger 1 silke Alya[1] and 1 Campsam nill.[2] And so they retorned, promising I should haue answer from the prince before daye. I ordered doble watch to be kept, match in cock, and all things in readynes, douting trecherye, This Tidorian prince being a verye desperat and valient soldyer, hauing done manye exploites upone the Flemings, and not long since tooke a Flemish shipp, a man of warr, riding not farr from this place. Before daye the Gallye before spoken of came ouer from Batta China. They weare neare vs in the darke before they weare aware. We haled hir. They answered Spanniards and your frinds, and so made to the shoare with all speede. She was but smalle, of 14 ores one a side. At nowne lattytude 00^{d} 50^{m} to the N.ward of the Equinoctyall. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale fresh porke, 1 meale salt porke.

The 13th [April] we wayed, the wynd N.erly, and a Currant setting out of the S.ward, And passing by the foart gaue them 5 peeces, which they requited. Diuers Spanyards came aboard me with compliments, and the princes man, saing that yf I had stayed but 24 howres

[1] Alleja, see note on p. 24.

[2] Nill is *Anil*, indigo (Yule and Burnell).

longer I should haue had Cloaues good store, but I rather think they intended som Trecherye with there Galleyes, Frigatts and Corra Curres, but by sudden departure weare preuented. And Coming about the wester part of Tidore we had sight of 4 Flemish shipps riding before there forte of Marieco, whoe at seight of vs one of them shott a peece of ordnance. The reason thereof I know not, except it was to calle aboard there people to Followe vs. We steered directly with the fortres of Ternata, And coming neare shortenned our sailes And laye by the lee, and shott of a peece towards the Towne without a shott. They redylye answered another without a shott, and sent of a soldyer of good fashion, whoe from the Gouernor Don Jeronimo de Silua intreated me to com vnder the forte, protesting great kindnes. I hasted him a shoare to acquant the Gouernor that I would plye close aboard the shoare heare, yf he pleased to send of his goods, yf not I would be gone. And for that he was verye desirous to buy 2 or 3 pare of shooes of the Companye, bestowed 3 pare of prouant[1] shooes vpone him, which he accepted verye thankfully. But little wynd, our shipp sagged[2] in vpone the shoare, and no Anckoring, but at night a gaile at S. we stoode into the sea, but lost much by the Currant that we had gotten, finding it to sett to the S. ward. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale beefe and meale, 1 meale oatmeale.

The 14th [April], the wynd at S.S.W., we steered N.N.W., and at noone had lattytude 1d 00m. We had sight of a Gallye, wherefore cast about, and finding hir to stand awaye, went our course awaye for Japan. God Allmightye be our director. I willed to be deliuered to James our

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[1] Compare "ammunition boots." Provant shoes were shoes of which there was a stock on board for issue to the sailors.

[2] That is, went towards the shore. Compare the expression, "to sag to leeward like an old haystack."

new com Fleming 1 pees Aleia at 5 rials and 1 pees fine duttye at 3 rials to make him aparrell, and to be paid for out of his wages. Heare we had verye much Raine. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale.

[1But before we part further from this Moluccan Coast, I think it not amisse to acquaint the reader with a few Notes that I hold worthy obseruance, touching the Trade and state of those Ilands.

Throughout all the Moluccae Ilands, a Bahar of Cloues doth weigh two hundred Cattees of that Countrey, euery Cattee three pound fiue ounces haberdepoiz, which maketh the Bahar to be sixe hundred sixtie two pound eight ounces haberdepoiz subtill.[2] For which Bahar of Cloues, the Flemmings by their perpetuall contract (as they terme it) giue fiftie Rials of eight.[3] My selfe for more speedie obtayning of lading, yeelded to pay them sixtie Rials of eight the Bahar. Which increase of price made them so forward to furnish vs, that had not the Flemmings by their force ouer-awed the nationals,[4] imprisoning and threatning them with death, and keeping watch and good guards along the Sea-Coast, I had in one moneth procured our full lading. The most of these Ilands beare store of Cloues. Those of note inhabited yeeld one yeare with another as followeth, that is to say, Ternate, one thousand Bahars. Machian, one thousand and ninetie. Tydore, nine hundred. Bachian, three hundred. Moteer, sixe

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[1] As already explained, the matter enclosed between square brackets is not from the MS. log, but from the amplified version printed by Purchas.

[2] Subtle weight in commerce is the weight when the tare has been deducted and tret has yet to be allowed (*Webster's Dictionary*). Cp. also: "I payed 70 Ryalls per Baharr, the Baharr being 628 li. Suttle" (Instructions from John Jourdain for a voyage to the Moluccas, January 24, 1614-15, *O. C.*, No. 240, in *India Office Records*).

[3] See note on page 41. [4] Probably a misprint for "naturals."

hundred. Meau,[1] fiftie. Batta China, fiue and thirtie. The totall is three thousand nine hundred seuentie fiue.

Euery third yeare is farre more fruitfull then either of the former two, and is called the great Monson. It is lamentable to see the ruines that Ciuill Warre hath bred in those Ilands, which as I vnderstood at my being there, beganne and continued in manner following. The Portugall at his first discouerie of them, found fierce warres betwixt the King of Ternate and the King of Tidore, vnder which two Kings all the other Ilands are either subiected or confederated with one of them. The Portugall for the better settling of himselfe, tooke part with neither of them, but politikely carrying himselfe kept both to bee his friends, and so fortified vpon the Ilands of Ternate and Tydore, where to the Portugals great aduantage, hauing the whole Trade of Cloues in their owne hands, they domineered and bore chiefest sway vntill the yeare 1605, wherein the Flemming by force displaced them, and planted himselfe: but so weakly and vnprovided for future danger, that the next yeare the Spaniard (who whilest the Portugall remayned there, was ordered both by the Pope and the King of Spaine not to meddle with them) came from the Philippinas, beat the Flemmings out of both the Ilands, tooke the King of Ternate Prisoner, sent him to the Philipinas, and kept Ternate and Tydore vnder their command. The Flemming since that time hath gotten footing there againe, and at my beeing there had built him these Forts, viz.

Vpon the Iland Ternate, They haue a Fort called Malayou,[2] which hath three Bulwarkes, and is walled round about. Secondly, Tolouco,[3] which hath two Bulwarkes,

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[1] Majo (Stieler's *Hand-Atlas*); Majau (Valentijn); Myo (Milburn); Mayo (Admiralty Chart).

[2] Maleyo (*Beschryving der Moluccos*, Valentijn, p. 12).

[3] Tolucco (*ibid*).

and a round Towre walled about. Thirdly, Tacome,[1] which hath foure Bulwarkes, and is walled about.

Vpon the Iland Tydore, Marieko, which hath foure Bulwarkes.

Vpon the Iland Machian, First, Tafasoa[2] (the chiefe Towne of this Iland), where they haue foure great Bulwarkes walled about, sixteene Peeces of Ordnance, and about one thousand Inhabitants of the Naturals.

Secondly, Nofakia,[3] another Towne, where they haue two Forts walled about and another Fort vpon the top of a high hill there, which freeth the Roade on the other side, and hath fiue or sixe Peeces of Ordnance.

Thirdly, Tabalola,[4] a Towne where they haue two Forts walled, eight Peeces of Ordnance, and the Inhabitants hereof (as of the former) vnder their command. This place is very strongly scituated by nature.

Those of Nofakia are esteemed no good Souldiers, but are reported to take part alwayes, as neere as they can ghesse it, with the strongest. But the Naturals of Tabalola, which formerly dwelt at Cayoa,[5] are accounted the best Souldiers of the Maluccae Ilands, and are deadly Enemies to the Spaniards and Portugals, and as weary now of the Flemmings.

In these three Forts vpon Machian, there were at my being heere an hundred and twentie Holland Souldiers, viz., eightie at Tafasoa; thirtie at Nofakia; and ten at Tabalola; which Garrison is with the least.

This Iland Machian is the richest of Cloues of all the Moluccae Ilands, and, according to the generall report of the Inhabitants, yeeldeth in the yeare of the great Monson aboue eighteene hundred Bahars of Cloues.

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[1] Tacomi (*op. cit.*, p. 13).
[2] Tafasoho (*op. cit.*, p. 90).
[3] Gnoffickia (*ibid*).
[4] Tabilolo (*ibid*).
[5] Cajoe, an island between Batsjan and Makyan (*Beschryving der Moluccos*, p. 89). Kayoa in the Admiralty Chart.

Vpon the Iland Bachian, The Flemmings haue one great Fort.

Vpon the Iland Moteer, They haue foure Bulwarkes.

These Ciuill Warres have so wasted the Nationals,[1] that a great quantitie of Cloues perish, and rot vpon the ground for want of gathering. Neither is there any likelihood of peace to bee made betwixt them, vntill the one part be vtterly rooted out.

Thus leauing them to their warres I will return to our Trafficke, and shew in what manner we traded with the Naturals for Cloues, which for the most part was by bartering and exchanging Cotton cloth of Cambaya and Coromandell for Cloues. The sorts requested, and prices that they yeelded:

Candakeens of Barochie,[2] six Cattees of Cloues. Candakeens Papang,[3] or flat, three Cattees. Selas,[4] or small Bastas,[5] seuen and eight. Patta chere Malayo,[6] sixteen. Dragam chere Malayo, sixteen. Fine Cassas,[7] twelue. Coarse of that kind, eight. Betellias,[8] or Tancoulos red, fortie foure, and fourtie eight. Sarassas[9] chere Malayo, fortie eight and fiftie. Sarampouri,[10] thirtie. Chelles,[11] Tap-

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[1] Misprint for "Naturals."

[2] Candakeen is explained in a note under March 21st. Baroach, Broach or Bharuch, on the Nerbudda.

[3] Papang is appatently *pâpan*, Malay for "board."

[4] Selas is perhaps Shalee (Yule and Burnell), called Shellas by Milburn.

[5] Misprint for "Baftas."

[6] *Chere Malayo* is *chara Malayu:* Malay fashion.

[7] Cossaes (Yule and Burnell).

[8] Betteelas (Yule and Burnell), a kind of muslin. "This linnen is of divers sorts, and is called Serampuras, Cassas, Comsas, Beatillias Satopassas, and a thousand such-like names" (Linschoten, quoted in Yule and Burnell, *s. v.*).

[9] From this is derived the Japanese word *sarasa*, chintz.

[10] Salempores (Yule and Burnell), a kind of chintz; but see note on Betellias.

[11] Chelloes (Yule and Burnell).

siels, and Matafons,[1] twentie and foure and twentie. White Cassas, or Tancoulos,[2] fortie, and foure and fortie. Dongeryus,[3] the finest twelue. Coarse of that kind, eight and ten. Pouti Castella,[4] ten. Ballachios[5] the finest, thirtie. Patta chere Malayo, of two fathomes, eight and ten. Great Potas,[6] or long foure fathome, sixteene Cattees of Cloues. Parcallas[7] white, twelue. Salalos Ytam,[8] twelue and fourteene. Turias and Tappe Turias, one and two. Patola,[9] of two fathomes, fiftie and sixtie. Those of foure and one fathome accordingly. Rice, eight and twentie pound, a Riall of Eight. Sagu, which is a roote whereof the Naturals make their Bread, and is their chiefest food through the whole Countrey. It is sold in bunches, and was worth there one quarter of a Riall of eight a bunch. Veluets, Sattins, Taffataes, and other stuffes of Silke of China, are very well requested heere. And this shall serue for aduice concerning the Moluccae Ilands.]

The 15th [April] wynd at N.N.E. We steered W. by N., but the wynd vering to the S., we steered N. som tymes E.ly and somtymes westerly, butt got littell ahead. Verye

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[1] Valentijn mentions Matafons of Bengal among goods imported into Japan, but there is no such word among the names of Bengal piece-goods given by Milburn.

[2] Tancoulo is perhaps tĕngkuluk, a head-kerchief, or kind of turban.

[3] Dungarees, a kind of coarse and inferior cotton cloth (Yule and Burnell).

[4] Pouti, Malay for "white," *putih*. *Kastila*, also *Katela*, applied to Spanish articles.

[5] Ballachio is no doubt *blachu*, Malay for unbleached calico.

[6] Photaes (Yule and Burnell).

[7] Percaulas. From this is probably derived the French word "percale," a cotton tissue, used for binding books "in cloth," as we call it.

[8] Hitam, Malay for "black." Salalos is perhaps a misprint for Saloes, cf. "red Shellas or Salloes," quoted by Yule and Burnell from Milburn, *s. v.* Shalee.

[9] Canarese and Malayalim pattuda, a silk cloth. "Patolos of silk, which are cloths made at Cambaya that are highly prized at Malacca (Correa, *Lendas*, vol. ii, p. 2, 714, quoted by Yule and Burnell).

much Raine and subiect to calmes. I willed our Cloaues to be wayed and put vp in drye Caske, viz. 12 hhd and 1 dryfatt,[1] p°[2] 3690lb English, is 910¼ Cattyes, makes 4 Bahares 110¼ Cattyes, at 200 Cattyes to the bahar, cost 60 rials of 8 the Bahar. Amountes to 273 rials, bought for Royalls and cloath of Cambaya. Bought of Dayle the Coxson 1 ferkin of 2d, 3d and 4d nayles for the shipps vse, the Carpenter wanting. The said Dayle having bought them of Jones, the Boatswane of the Hector, which maye be douted to haue stolen them from the Companye; paid for them 4 rials of 8. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe and dumplings, 1 meale oatmeale.

The 16th [April] calme tell night, a gaile at W. We steered N.N.W. But little wynd all night. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 2 meales Rice with honye.

The 17th [April] in the morning, wynd at E. by S., we steered N. but after varyable, shifting to all the pointes of the Compas; and towards night had sight of land to the N.ward. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale.

The 18th [April] Calme with much Raine and Contrary wynds. I conferred with the master and his mates conserning the going for the Iland called Saiem to the westward of vs, and there to stay and refresh tell the monson will permit our proseede. They liked well heareof. But instantlye the wynd came to the W., so that we stood N. and N. by E., our course along, little wynd. John Azie dyed in the Cloaue. Allowance Biskett and Sack, 1 meale beefe and wheate, 1 meale porke and wheate, and boath meales wyne.

The 19th [April] little wynd at W. We continued our course N. by E., verye much Raine and extreame hott.

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[1] A large basket or receiver, for the reception of dry substances.

[2] p°=pois, weight.

Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale porke, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 20th [April] in the morning Calme, and a Continuall Corrant sett to the E.wards, which we haue felt euer since our departure from Ternata. And in the afternowne the wynd came to the N. a gaile: We stoode to the westwards to stem the Corrant. The master came and conferred with me that in regard of the N.erly wynds subiect to calmes and Currant E.erly, it would be the best course to stand in with a great Iland called Doy,[1] and there to rest and refresh, which I willingly allowed of, and presently Tackt and stoode to the E. poynt of it. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 21th [April] in the morning we weare faire before the said Iland, neare the N.ern point, being a lowe point streching to the S.wards. We stoode in E. by S., wynd at N. by E. At nowne I caused the Skiff to be well mand, and sent Mr. Hinsly, one of the Master his mates, to search out for a conv'enyent place to ride in, but the Currant sett so stronge to the E.ward as we could not gett ahead, onlye discouered a baye verye spatyous, but had a great shoale lying of the N.ern point ½ a league into the sea, and had 60 Fatham 2 mile of the shoare, sand. But night in hand, we stoode of tell morning. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale porke, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 22th [April] in the morning, a smalle gaile at N.E.ly, we stoode in. Being aboute 2 leagues of, I sent of my Skiff,

[1] In the map at p. 22 of Linschoten the island is so named, but he gives it a disproportionate size. In the Admiralty Chart it is spelt Dui, but the epithet 'great' of the text seems inapplicable. Perhaps, after all, Saris really means the larger of the two islands immediately N.E. of Gilolo, the name of which is variously spelt Morti, Mortie, and Morotay. This view is confirmed by the statement under May 12 that "This Iland Doy, being the N.E. most Iland of Batta China in the Molocos." The latitude of Dui is 2° 15′ N., while Morti extends from 2° to 2° 48′ N.

Mr. Hounsell master's mate in hir, and in the baye found good ankorag from 60, 80 and 10 Fathams, sand, a good berth of the shoare, wheareat they shott there muskets according to order, and after sunsett we ankored in 24 Fathams, hauing had in 56, 35, 26 and 24 Fathams. Riding against a hie greene hill with one tree standing in a pitt in the top thereof, in forme of a summer howse, ½ a league within the N. point of the shoale, which is drye at lowe water. The trees one the top of the greene bering E. by N., and the 2 outward points of the land one N.E. by N., and the other W. by S. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with honye.

The 23th [April] I sent Mr. Hounsell in the Skiff ashoare to looke out for a convenyent place to water in, and to erect a Tent for our people to remane yf it should rayne. He presently retorned, hauing found what he went about, and right ouer against the shipp great Track of deare and swyne, but no signe of people, the place verye full of trees and aboundance of Cokers, penang,[1] Serye,[2] palmetes, and foule boath fesant and wood doues.[3] I went ashoare with the marchants in Companye, sett vp a Tent, and the Carpenter made faule petts for to take swyne verye artefityallye; some fishe we tooke with great labor emongest the Rocks. Allso one fesant and 2 wood pidgions very large, as big bodyed as henns. Some of our people being willing Remaned ashoare all night to looke for the Coming of the Swyne to the Trap. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 2 meales Rice with honye.

The 24th [April] I went ashoare accompaned with the marchants, but found no swyne taken. They had sight of verye great ones, but through Raine which fell there peeces would not take. This daye about halfe an howre after

[1] *I.e.*, the areca-nut palm.

[2] *Siri*, the Malay word for *Piper betel*, the leaf of which is used for wrapping round the areca nut.

[3] Purchas has here "wood cocks," which seems unlikely.

7 of the Clock in the morning the moone in the full was Eclipsed, the strangest that ever I did see, being obscured 3½ howres before she recouered hir perfect light, which to us was verye fearfull. Allowance Biskett and Sack, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate.

The 25th [April] The Coxson and others desirous to seeke out for some refreshing in the bottom of the baye, I lett him haue the skiff well appointed. They retorned with foule and great store of Cokers and headdes of palmeta Trees, which boyled with beefe ar as good as Cabedg, wheareof the hole Companye had great store, allso as they said an excellent place to hale the saine. Allowance Biskett breckfast, 2 meales beefe with wheate.

The 26th [April] in the morning before daye I went out with our longe boate and Skiff To drawe our Sayne, Accompaned with the marchants, which yf it had byn gods will I wishe we had all taryed aboard, for to my great harts greife Mr. John Craulye and Robert Lantro weare drowned in a wherlpoole, And myselfe and others heardly escaped, being the pleasure of god it should be so, John Conaway and Peeter Torner being the cheefe occatyon under God to saue me, God almightye grant to his Glorye. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oat-meale.

The 27th I gaue Peeter Torner and Conawaye each of them a peece of Tapseeles. I caused Mr. Craulyes and Robert Lanckros Goods to be sould at the mast, which weare as viz.

Mr. Craulye in Redye monye -	012 . 03 . 09
In Goods as per Inventorye per purser -	058 . 08 . 05
	070 . 12 . 02
Robert Lantro in Redye monye -	000 . 08 . 00
In Goods sould as per Inventorye -	016 . 10 . 02
	016 . 18 . 02

NOTE that Mr. Wickham, one of the marchants, made challenge to all Mr. John Craulyes Goods by vertue of a pamphlett[1] or writing he shewed, but no wittnes to it, and doutfull wheather it weare Mr. Craulyes writing or firme.[2] And vnderstanding that he had made a forme of a will after the other, as the purser affermed, but could not be found, I thought it good to lett it rest tell better proofe or tryall in England.

This daye Mr. Eaton, purser's mate of the Hector, made knowne vnto me that 2 Bayles Indyco Lahore of the Companyes weare priuatlye shared aboard the hector betwene the Redd sea and Bantam by Mr. Camden, the purser, the Cooper and som others, and that in the said 2 bayles weare found 4 Chockoroes[3] of simmian Chauters, verye fine cloath, viz. in each bayle 4, contayning 4 in a Chocoro, is 16 peeces in a bayle, is 32 peeces in the hole, and being by Mr. Richard Dawes discouered, Mr. Wesby and Eaton coming into houlde betwene the decks, found the afforesaid with Daye the stuard a parting it, and weare profered a part but as he protesteth denyed it, much admiring[4] there dishonnesties. These 2 bayles belonged to one Hagy Messa Tabresi,[5] with whom I had much troble at Moha[6] for content for the said 2 Bailes, But

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[1] Properly, a stitched book : Spanish *papeleta.*

[2] Signature.

[3] "This seems to be the Hind. *chakar* (Sanskrit *chakra*, a wheel or circle), used in the sense of a roll or bale" (*Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. i, Glossary.) "Simmian," also written "Semian" and "Semiano," apparently derives its name from the Persian *shamyana*, "a canopy," being principally employed for that purpose, though Sir Thomas Roe describes the Mogul Emperor as wearing "a fine Semian as thin as Lawne" (*Embassy*, vol. ii, p. 322). "Chauter" is probably the Hind. *chadar*, "a sheet or square piece of cloth of any kind." The connection is, however, denied in Yule and Burnell (*s.v. Chudder*).

[4] Wondering at.

[5] Hadji, the title of honour given to a Moslem who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca. Mirza was probably his name, and Tabresi indicates that he was a native of Tabriz in Persia.

[6] Mocha.

for that Mr. Cocks[1] douted of mistake in tayle[2] of the Companyes, by order from me caused them to be marked with the Companyes marke, and put into hould amongest the rest, houlding it most fitting for the Companye, albeit weare an ouerplus, which he, tell this present, was doutfull of, being much misvsed by some of the sharers heareof at Bantam for speaking to haue them put into the bill of lading. Allowance Sack and Biskett, I meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale.

The 28th [April] We labored to gett in wood and water. I sent the skiff to sound about the shoale, and found 10 and 12 fatham at the N.er point neare to it. This daye and all night verye much rayne. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oatmeale.

The 29th [April] we made an ende of watring, hauing taken in 36 Tonnes, and good store of Wood in readynes to com aboard. Merideth the fouler sent aboard 2 fesants and 2 wood pidgions, but broke me 2 fouling peeces, which weare much more worth then all the foule he had taken. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 30th [April] was imployed in getting aboard wood, whereof we haue great store and as good as our billetts in

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[1] Cocks, in a letter from Hirado, says that by an oversight, as he calls it, 120 sows of lead were transhipped into a Surat junk at Mocha, and these two bales of Indigo, belonging to a Persian named Hagi Messia Beag, put on board the *Hector*. Cocks was shown them by Dodsworth, the purser of that vessel, in the presence of Edmond Camden; but later on they angrily denied all knowledge. Nothing more was said till the present occasion, when Eaton told Cocks that the two bales had been shared between Towerson, Captain of the *Hector*, Camden, and Dodsworth. Cocks adds that the Hadji, when he found that he could not recover his property (the *Hector* having sailed from Mocha before he claimed it), offered to make him a present of them, but on the advice of Saris he declined to receive the gift. One can conceive his annoyance at learning how useless his self-denial had been (*Letters Received by the East India Company*, vol. i, p. 317).

[2] Count.

England, and cleaues with great ease. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 2 meales Rice with honye.

May 1613. The primo I sent my Skiff to sound to the wester point into the baye, finding verye deepe water, and landing, the ruins of howses and som brasse pannes. So that I think this place hath beene latelye inhabyted, but by the warrs ruinated. The wynd at W. by N. and W.N.W. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 2 [May]. I gaue leaue to as manye as would to goe ashoare, hauing done watring and wooding. Allowance Biskett breckfast, 2 meales beefe.

The 3 [May]. There hapned nothing to be noted. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale wheate.

The 4th [May] our Boate ashoare for som more wood. James Miles quarter master with the falle of a Tree had his head verye dangerouslye wounded, and was brought aboard. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate.

The 5th [May] we tooke in a boates lading of Wood more, hauing at least 20 Tonnes at present, which will stand vs in good steade at Japan, as I haue heard being verye deare. But by misfortune John Merydeth, the fouler, cutting downe a coker tree for the fruite, the tree in the fall beate out his Braynes. God grant it be the ende of all our sorrowes. The wynd varyable with much Raine. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate.

The 6th [May] nothing worth noting. Calme and Raine. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate.

The 7th [May] nothing of Emportance. Calme and Raine. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 2 meales Rice with Cokers.

The 8th [May] nothing passed. Calme and Rayne. Allowance Bisket and Sack, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate.

The 9th [May] Calmes but drye. Allowance Biskett breckfast, 2 meales Beefe.

The 10th [May] Readye to sett saile. I lett the Companye goe ashoare, as they desired to gett what refreshing they could, and for water to fill our empty caske. Calme. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 11th [May] In the morning we sett saile, the wynd at S. but presently Calme. Came to ankor againe. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale with 2 quartes wheate a messe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 12th [May] we set saile from This Iland Doy, being the N.E. most Iland of Batta China in the Molocos, Lattytude 2d 35m, varyatyon 5d 20m E.ly, hauing Remaned heare 19 dayes. And haue at present 71 persons bound by God's assistance for Japan. And at noone was 14 leagues N. by E. of the place wheare we anckored, hauing steered out of the baye N.W. by N., then N., the wynd at W., W.N.W. and W.S.W. and at present at W., verye much Raine and the moone 3 dayes ould. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 13th [May] the shipps waye to nowne N. by E. 22 leagues, we steered N. wynd at W., varyatyon 5d 30m E.ly, with a strong Currant setting to the E.ward; then the wynd shifted to the W. by S., W.N.W., E., then a gaile at W. by S. and W.S.W. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale with 2 quarts wheat a messe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 14th [May] Lattitude 5d 26m, waye N. by E. 26 leagues, wynd at W. and Currant as afforesaid; cleere weather. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 2 meales Rice with honye.

The 15th [May] Lattitude 5d 56m, waye N.N.E. 14 leagues, currant as formerly. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with honye.

The 16th [May] Lattitude 7d 10m, waye N. somwhat E.ly 27 leagues, wynd at S.W. and W., subiect to rayne. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe and wheate, 1 meale wheate.

The 17th [May] Lattitude 8d 22m, waye N. 24 leagues, wynd at S.W. but in the morning at E. with Raine. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with oyle the ¼ of a pint a messe.

The 18th [May] Lattitude 9d 07m, waye N.E.ly 15 leagues, wynd at E. and E.N.E., verye cleare weather. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

The 19th [May] Lattitude 9d 41m, waye N. 11⅓ leagues, wynd at E. and E.N.E. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

The 20th [May] Lattitude 10d 40m, waye N. ½ point W.ly 20 leagues, wynd at E. and N.E., with helpe of a Currant N.ly. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

The 21th [May] Lattitude 11d 36m, waye N.N.W. 20 leagues, wynd at N.E., E., N.N.E. and N.E. by E.; starboard tack aboard. Allowance Biskett and Rack, 2 meales Rice with oyle.

The 22th [May] Lattitude 12d 39m, waye N.N.W. 23 leagues, wynd E.N.E., N.E. by E. and N.E. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

The 23th [May] Lattitude 12d 57m, waye N. by W. 6⅔ leagues, wynd S.E., calme. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe with wheate, 1 meale porke with wheate.

The 24th [May] Lattitude 13d 42m, waye N. 15 leagues, wynd S. by E., verye smothe water. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale and oyle.

The 25th [May] Lattitude 15d 12m, waye N. 30 leagues, wynd at S. We steered N. westerly. NOTE thatt we finde these fauorable wyndes in the full of the moone. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale pork and wheate, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle.

The 26th [May] Lattitude 17d 06m, waye N. 38 leagues, wynd S. by W., S. and S.S.W., a continuall stiff gaile and smooth water. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle.

The 27th [May] waye N.E. 24 leagues, wynd at W.N.W. and W. with Raine, Thunder and lightning. I gaue the steward order to giue the Companye 1 meale beefe, 1 porke with a quart wheate per meale and 2½ lb. (?) bread and Rice one daye in the weeke. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle.

The 28th [May] waye N. 9 leagues, wynd W. and W.N.W. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 2 meales Rice with oyle.

The 29th [May] Lattitude 19d 15m, waye N. 9 leagues, wynd N.E., E., W., W.N.W. and S., subiect to calmes and gustes. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle.

The 30th [May] Lattitude 20d 12m, waye N. 20 leagues, wynd at S.E. and E.S.E. Allowance Rack and biskett, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale Beefe.

The 31th [May] Lattitude 21d 35m, waye N. by W. 30 leagues, wynd at E. and E. by N., varyatyon 6d 00m E.ly. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

June 1613. The primo we passed the Tropeck to the N.ward of the lyne Equinoctyall, the Sun our zeneth I could not obserue. Waye N. 40 leagues, wynd at S.E. and S.E. by E., varyatyon 5d 25m E.ly. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

The 2 [June] Lattitude 25^{d} 44^{m}, waye nore[1] 42 leagues, wynd at S.E. and S.E. by S., making account to haue seene the Ilands called Resmagos[2] about 8 of the clock in the morning, but as yett see none. Allowance Rack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

About 4 in the afternoon we made the land, being a verye lowe Iland bering N.W. about 3 leagues of, wynd at S.E. by E., and hauing it N.N.E., we had sight of the hie land ouer the lowe land, there being manye little Ilands to the number of 10 or 11, with broken Ground and breaches reaching ouer to each Iland, so that we could deserne no passage to the westward. At night we tack of, took in our top-sales, and lay close by in our Courses[3] all night, wynd verye much at S.S.E.; we stemed[4] E. The Ilands lye alongest N.E. and S.W. Heare we spent our Top-gallant mast.

The 3th [June] in the morning, breake of daye, we stoode in for the land, being an hie Iland bering N.W., which seemed to vs a most plesent and fruitefull land as anye we haue seene sence we came out of England, with great store of Cattell and well peopled. I purposed to have Anckored about the N.E. point, and sounding had 60 Fatham and had sight of 2 Boates comming to vs, And vsed all meanes we could to speke with them, desirous of a pilatt and to knowe the name of the Iland, the better to be assured wheare we weare. But the wynd was so forsable, as we could not gett in, wherefore stoode awaye N.W., and had sight of an Iland bering W.N.W. We steered with it, And from thence had sight of an Iland, bering N.E. ½ point E.ly, some 7 or 8 leagues, and Comming vnder the wester-

[1] Nor^{l} for north.

[2] Called in Linschoten's map Dos Res Magos, the southerly portion of the Loochoo group, called Miyako Shima, often wrongly printed Majico Shima. The latitude given is too far north, this group lying between 24° and 25° N. lat.

[3] The lower square sails.

[4] Headed.

most Iland we deserned Rocks that laye of the shoare aboue 2 myle, the one aboue water and the N.ermost vnder water. And is a great waye without the other, and the sea breakes vpone it. Then the land fauleth awaye to the S.wardes rounde, And neare to the pointe you shall open a steepe Rock that is vpone the west side of the Iland, and is verye like Cherin cross.[1] Then we steered N.W. with an extreame gaile at S. by W. and S.S.W. When we had openned the Iland, and a Currant setting to the S.ward, at 4 a clock we tooke in our Topsailes, and haled close vpone a tack; verye much wynd, the Iland being about 7 leagues N.W. of me. Waye to noone, N. ½ point E.ly, 16 leagues. Allowance Biskett and Rackapee of my owne, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale wheate and oyle.

The 4th [June] in the morning verye much wynde at S.S.W. with Raine, waye N.W. of all night 6 leagues. At 7 we bore vp, and steered awaye our course N., and at 10 the weather verye forsable, we tooke in all our sailes and huld,[2] hauing made since we bore vp a N. by W. waye 9 leagues. And° about nowne it broke vp. Waye to this present N.N.W. ¾ W.ly 20 leagues. At 3 in the afternoone we sett our Courses, the wynd at N.W. and N.W. by N. We steered N.E. som 2 howres, then calme and continuall Rayne; variation at Sun setting 4d 40m E.ly; all night calme. Allowance Biskett and Rackapee, 2 meales Rice with oyle. James Miles dyed.[3]

The 5th [June] waye W. by N. 4½ leagues, wynd at N.N.E. We steered N.W. starboard tackt, varyatyon 4d 42m. Allowance Rackapee and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale Rice with oyle.

The 6th [June] waye N.N.W. 9 leagues, wynd at E.N.E., N.E. by N. and N.E. by E.; little wynd and much Raine, varyatyon 4d 19m E.ly. At night the wynd at E. and E.S.E.

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[1] Charing Cross. [2] "Hulled," or lay to. [3] See p. 69.

Allowance Rackapee and Biskett, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale Beefe.

The 7th [June] waye N.E. by N. 16 leagues, wynd at S.E. and S.S.W. Then we steered awaye N.E. by N., supposing to be of Tonan 28 or 30 leagues. Allowance Rackapee and Biskett, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle.

The 8th [June] in the morning, breke of daye, we had sight of a hie Rounde Iland beryng E. 6 leagues of, with diuers other Ilands rising in 6 or 7 parts, bering W. 5 or 6 leagues of. Hauing made to this nowne 22 leagues N.E. by N. waye, wynd at S.S.W. a stiff gaile, then we hald ouer N.W. with another Iland, which we found to be 4 in number, being barren and manye peked Rocks. Then we steered N. by E., the wynd at S. by W.

A Complant this daye was made vnto me by 15 of the Companye against Boules, quarter master, That he had borowed of them at severall times sence our comming out of the Red sea 22*l.* 16*s.*, promising them pament daylye, but they could gett nothing of him. I questioned with the said Boules wherefore he paid them not, and what he had done with there monyes. Whoe most audasiously said he had lost it at dice in the shipp, and could not pay them tell he had it. But finding that he feared not punishment, knowing that it[1] is forbidden, and some punished for vsing thereof, Gaue order to the purser to strike of such dets as was owing by his Creditors in the booke to him, And willed him to take order with the rest, otherwayes they should haue it out of his wages, hauing meerely cheated manye of them, lending them there owne monye too or 3 dayes after, and causing them to becom debitors to him in the pursers booke, 2 for one, which makes his parcell therein to seeme as if he had great Credit, and is indeted

[1] "Diceinge and other unlawfull games" were strictly forbidden by the Company.

much more then the some afforesaid, besides all he hath earned to this present, but as he hath for manye yeares beene brought vp in the Spanish Gallyes, and is expert in all dishonnest accions, so hath he beene all this voyage an intiser of manye to disobedyence, Telling the purser he scornd to eate the shipps victualls, so long as he could gett monye, he cared not by what meanes, to procure other, weare it at hie rate; and in the knoledge of the Master and most of the Companye would giue 3*s.* a peece for hennes to haue his choise in the Mollocos, when the purser for the shipps vse bought for 18*d.* But I assure my selfe that coming wheare the Portingale is, that he and one Evens his fellowe Gallye slaue, except great care taken of them, will Run awaye, The most of the better sort telling me as much, and are as carefull of them as they can, and to keepe them out of the Gunner roome from doing anye mischeefe there. And hearein I find the Master carefull.

About 3 a clock we had sight of an Iland with 3 hills like 3 round sugar loues, bering E. by S. 5 leagues of. We steered N. by E., wynd at S. by W. And at 5 had sight of an Iland rising in 2 parts, bering N.N.E., the N.er ende being an hie steepe vppright pointe, the land fauling awaye to the E.ward N.E. and at 6 the bodye of it bare E. 1½ leagues of. The wynd at W., we stoode of vpone a tack N.N.W. Allowance Rackapee and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale oatmeale, and boath meales Rackapee.

The 9th [June] in the morning we had sight of land bering N.N.E. and 6 great Ilands one a ranke from the Iland we descried yesternight N.E. and S.W.; and at the N.ermost ende of them all manye smalle Rocks and homocks, and you shall see in the baye to the E.ward of the homocks a hie land bering E., E. by S. and E.S.E., which is the Iland called Xima[1] in the platts, but by the

[1] Saris would seem to have first hit off Udsi sima (Uji Shima) or Roche Poncié, then to have coasted along the Koshiki islands and

naturalls Mashma, and the Iland afforesaid N.N.E. is called Segue or Amaxay.[1] It lyeth E. by N. and W. by S., with manye smalle Ilands and Rocks one the S.erne side of them, and is distant from the Iland with the steepe pointe, which we did see the 8 daye, S.S.W. 12 leagues. The wynd calme all night, yet we gott to the N.ward, as we suppose by helpe of a Currant or tyde. Allowance

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Amakusa, crossing the mouth of the Straits of Arima. There he picked up a pilot, altered his course, and, leaving Nagasaki on his starboard side, got safely into the roads at Kōchi, whence he was towed into harbour at Hirado.

What is the island which he descried in the bay to the eastward of the hummocks lying north of the Koshiki group (his six great islands on a rank N.E. and S.W. from the island he descried the night before)? He describes it as a "hie land bering E., E. by S. and E.S.E." The maps show no such island, but the hilly country belonging to the province of Satsuma, which has peaks as much as 2000 ft. high, may have seemed to him an island as he sailed along at a distance of from twenty-five to thirty miles from the coast.

If it was the hilly country of Satsuma that Saris saw, then the conclusion would be that Xima stands for Ximo, the name by which the whole island of Kiushiu is constantly spoken of in the missionary reports of that period. If that be so, then perhaps Mashma is for Xashma, or Satsuma.

Von Siebold, in his *Reise nach Japan im Jahre 1823*, p. 37, says that the Dutch navigators applied the name Maxima, and sometimes Meaxuma, to a group of four small islands (in E. long. 128° 28′, N. lat. 32° 3′), of which the most northerly is properly called Takashima, the most southerly Kusakaki, and the remaining two, which are smaller, Oshima and Meshima. Mashima (Mashma) he considers to be a corruption of the last. Oshima and Meshima, he adds, are known to English seamen as "The Ass's Ears." Linschoten (*Reys-Gheschrift van de Navigatien der Portugaloysers*, Amsterdam, 1595, p. 83) says that the island of Puloma [*i.e.*, Mashima] or Meaxuma lies N.N.E. and S.S.W. of the Goto Islands, ten to twelve leagues off, which agrees with the Ass's Ears. Krusenstern, according to Siebold, identified the Koshiki group with Meshima or Mashma.

Xima is the Portuguese spelling of *shima*, island.

In Linschoten's map Xima and Meaxuma are placed N. of "Copequi," which last looks like a corruption of Koshiki, the group of large islands due N. of Takashima. But the mention of Mashma further on seems to indicate that it was an important trading centre.

[1] Amakusa is the name of a group consisting of two large islands separated by a narrow strait and some small ones. The easternmost of the two large islands is called Kami shima, the other Shimo shima. The latter was, it would seem, called Xiqui in the "Cartas que os Padres," etc. (Evora, 1598), from a town named Shiki, near the point on its N.W. coast.

Rackapee and Biskett, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale oatmeale and oyle and sack sopper.

The 10th [June] in the morning, breake of daye, the outwardmost land to the W.ward did beare N. by E. 10 leagues of; wynd at N.E. by N. At 9 a gaile at S. We steered N. by W. and had sight of 2 hommacks without the pointe. Then we steered N.N.W., and soone after came 4 Greate fisher boates aboard, whoe tould vs that we weare thwart the going in to Nangasaque, it bering N.N.E. and the strates of Arema[1] N.E. by N.; and the hie hill we did see yesterdaye is vpone the Iland called Vszideke,[2] which maketh the Strates of Arema; wheare at the N.ermost end is good riding and at the S. ende is the going into Cochinoch.[3] To this nowne we haue made a N. waye 6 leagues. I gaue order to the Master and purser to agree with two of the masters of the fisher boates to pilate vs into Ferando,[4] whoe concluded for 30 Rials and Rice for there dyatt; and after there people entred the shipp and labored verye willinglye at all work our people weare about. We steered N. by W., the pilatts making accompt to be 30 leagues[5] of Ferando. One of the 4 Boates which came aboard me was belonging to the Portingales at Langasaque,[6] and weare new Christians. Thinking we had beene the Mackeaue[7] shipp, but finding the Contrarye, would vpone no intreatye staye, but made haste to aduise them. Allow-

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[1] Straits of Arima, between Shimo Shima and the peninsula of Shimabara.

[2] Usezaki, the N.W. point of Shimo Shima, on a peninsula which might easily be mistaken for an island.

[3] Kuchinotsu, a port on the S.E. of the peninsula of Shimabara.

[4] Hirado. In W. Japan, *H* before *i* is pronounced *F*, and *n* is inserted before *d*.

[5] The point where they picked up the Japanese fishermen is about 45 nautical miles S. of Hirado.

[6] The same as Nagasaki, of which it seems to be a Chinese corruption, similar to Liampo, which is found in the early navigators for Ningpo.

[7] Macao.

ance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle.

The 11th [June] about 3 a clock in the afternowne we came to Anckor ½ a league short of Ferando, the Tyde spent that we could not get further in. I caused 1 peece ordnance to be shott of at Anckoring, it being the custome, as I am informed by the naturalls, so to doe. And soone after I was vizited by the ould king called Foine Same[1] and his nephew Tone Same,[2] at present Gouernor of the Iland vnder the ould man afforesaid his Graundfather.

[They were attended with fortie Boats or Gallyes, rowed some with ten, some with fifteene oares on a side: when they drew neare to the ship, the King commanded all, but the two wherein himselfe and his Nephew were, to fall a sterne, and they only entred the ship, both of them in silke gownes, girt to them with a shirt, and a paire of breeches of flaxen cloath next their bodies; either of them had two Cattans[3] or swords of that Countrey by his side, the one of halfe a yard long, the other about a quarter. They wore no bands, the fore-parts of their heads were

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[1] Hō-in was a monkish title borne by Matsura Shigenobu, the *daimiō* or baron of Hirado and Iki. He succeeded his father in 1584, and took orders as a Buddhist monk in 1589. It was a common practice for Emperors, Shōguns and daimiōs to shave their heads and become nominal monks, retiring ostensibly from public life, thus avoiding the irksome ceremonial which belonged to their rank, while continuing in many, if not most cases, to exercise the same authority as before. This is the institution known as *in-kio* (living-hidden) to students of Japanese history and sociology. Sometimes *in-kio* was imposed as a penalty for political opposition to the government. Hō-in, even after shaving his head, held a command in the army which invaded Corea under the leadership of Konishi Yukinaga, and served actively for seven years (from 1592 to 1598). He died in 1614, at the age of 65. His son, Hisanobu, having predeceased him in 1602, he was succeeded by his grandson Takanobu, mentioned in Saris's journal as the young king. The names of his brothers were Nobusada and Sanai Nobutoki.

[2] "Nephew," old English for "grandson." Tone Same is a corruption of Tono Sama, which is not a personal name, but is equivalent to "His Lordship."

[3] Japanese *Katana*, the ordinary long sword of the country.

shauen to the crowne, and the rest of their haire, which was very long, was gathered together and bound vp on a knot behind, wearing neither Hat nor Turbant, but bare-headed. The King was aged about seuentie two yeeres, his Nephew or Grand-child, that gouerned vnder him, was about two and twentie yeeres old, and either of them had his Gouernour with him, who had command ouer their slaues, as they appointed him. Their manner and curtesie in saluting was after their manner, which is this. First, in presence of him whom they are to salute, they put off their shooes (stockings they weare none) and then clapping their right hand within their left, they put them downe towards their knees, and so wagging or mouing of their hands a little to and fro, they stooping, steppe with small steps sideling from the partie saluted, and crie Augh, Augh. I led them into my Cabbin, where I had prepared a Banquet for them, and a good consort of Musicke, which much delighted them].

They bad me welcome, with promise of kinde and free intertanement. I deliuered him the Kings Majestys letter, which he Receaued with great Joye, saing he would not open it tell Ange[1] came, whoe could interpret it vnto him, which Ange in there langage is pilott, and ment Mr. Addams, whoe is heare so called, for that he came pilatt of a Fleming into this Counterye, which shipp after was hear ruinated.[2] I intertaned his maiestie with a banquet of severall sorts Conserues furnished all in Glasse, which gaue him great Content, and had a consort of good musick, wheare in he tooke great pleasure. And at his departure

[1] The Japanese word *An-jin*, "considerer of the needle."

[2] In lieu of this Purchas has: "being one William Adams, an English man, who passing with a Flemming through the South-sea, by mutiny and disorder of the Marriners he remained in that Countrey, and was seised vpon by the Emperour about twelue yeares before."

MATSURA HO-IN, EX-DAIMIO OF HIRADO.

gaue him 13 peeces ordnance, and 5 at the Gouernors Brothers departure.

[He was no sooner ashoare, but all his nobilitie, attended with a multitude of souldiers, entred the ship. Euery man of worth brought his present with him, some Venison, some Wilde-fowle, some wilde Boare, the largest and fattest that euer any of vs had seene, some Fruits, Fish, etc. They did much admire our shippe, and made as if they had neuer seene it sufficiently. We being pestered with the number of these visiters, I sent to the King, requesting him that order might bee taken to remoue them, and to preuent all inconueniences that might happen. Whereupon hee sent a Guardian (being a principall man of his owne Guard), with charge to remaine and lye aboord, that no iniury might be offered vnto vs; and caused a proclamation to be made in the Towne to the same effect.]

And presently after came one Brower,[1] Captain of the Dutch factorye heare ashoare, to vizite me, or rather to see what past betweene the King and vs. I used him kindly, and intreated him to Supper, and at departure gaue him 5 peeces ordnance. The King sent to [two] men of accoumpt to lye aboard, that no iniurye weare offered vs, whoe I caused to be well accommodated. I writt to Mr. Addams at Edoe, which by King Foine was with all speede sent away vnto him, the Coppye wheare of is extant.[2] Allowance Sack and biskett, 2 meales Rice with oyle.

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[1] Henrik Brouwer, who had succeeded Jacques Specx as head of the Dutch factory at Hirado in 1613.

[2] Purchas's version is as follows: "The same night, Henrick Brower, Captaine of the Dutch Factory there, came aboord to visite me, or rather to see what passed betwixt the King and vs. I did write the same day to Master Adams (being then at Edoo, which is very neare three hundred leagues from Firando) to let him vnderstand of our arriuall. King Foyn sent it away the next day by his Admirall to Osackay, the first Port of note vpon the chiefe Iland, and then by post vp into the Land to Edoo: giuing the Emperour likewise to vnderstand of our being there, and cause thereof."

The 12th [June] in the morning was brought aboard such aboundance of fish and so cheape as we would desire. We wayed and sett saile for the roade. The King sent out at the least 60 Great boates verye well mand to bring us into the harbor. They towed vs about a pointe somwhat dangerous, by reason of the force of the Tyde, but would not suffer me to giue them anything for there panes.[1] We anckored before the towne in 5 Fatham water, so neare the shoare as we could talke to them ashoare in the howses. I gaue order to salute the Towne with 9 peeces ordnance, but was not answered, for they haue no ordnance heare of there owne, nor anye forte, but barrocados[2] for smale shott. Our ground heare is oaze.

Diuers nobellmen came to bid me wellcom, wheare of 2 weare of great accounte, as Martson at Batchan had formerly advized me of there names, viz. Nobasane[3] and Simadone,[4] whoe weare well intreated, and at parting had 16 peeces ordnance, houlding great state, one staing a while after the other, and there Childeren and Cheife

[1] "I doubted what the cause of their comming might be, & was sending off the Skiffe to command them not to come neare the ship, but the King, being the head-most, weaued with his handkercher, and willed the rest to attend, and himselfe comming aboord, told me that he had commanded them to come to tow our ship in about a point, somewhat dangerous by reason of the force of the tide, which was such, that hauing a stiffe gale of wind, yet we could not stemme it, and comming into the eddie, we should haue been set vpon the Rockes. So we sent Hawsers aboord them, and they fell to worke. In the meane while the King did breake his fast with me. Being at an anchor, I would haue requited the people for their paines, but the King would not suffer them to take any thing" (Purchas).

[2] From the Spanish 'barricada,' a fortification made of barrels (*barricas*) or trunks of trees, etc. (?). On board of a ship "a strong wooden rail, supported by stanchions. and extending, as a fence, across the foremost part of the quarter-deck" (Falconer's *Dict. Marine*, quoted in *New English Dictionary*).

[3] Nobusane, a younger brother of the 'old King,' and therefore great-uncle of the reigning *daimiō*. Cocks often calls him Bungo dono, his full title being Bungo no Kami.

[4] Probably Sagawa Shume is meant, *done* being a corruption of *dono*, or Master. He was aged 33 at this time, and held high office under the Matsura family.

followers after them. There came contynuallye such a worlde of people aboard, boath men and women, as we weare not able to goe vpone the decks, and all about the shipp was couered with boates full of people, admiring much our head and starne. And giving leaue to diuers of the better sort of women to com into my Cabbin, where the picture of Venus hung, verye lasiuiously sett out, and in a great frame, they fell downe and worshiped it for our ladye with showes of great devotyon [telling me in a whispering manner (that some of their owne companions, which were not so, might not heare) that they were Christianos], whereby we perceaued them to be of the portingale-made papestes. Diuers eatable presents weare sent me by the king and his nobilyty, Tubbes of the Counterye wyne, fish, hoggs, pigges and such like, which in requitall to them which brought it, was by order giuen 3 peeces course Baftas.

Mr. Addams his hoste came and brought me a letter, which he had lefte with him the last monsone when he was heare, to deliuer from him to the first English shipp ariuing heare, so that from Bantam or pottanye[1] he had vnderstoode of a shipp to com, ordering a post to be sent for him ouerland, which I did, notwithstanding I had formerly writt, which was by the King's means sent awaye with speede. Giuen To Mr. Addames host, viz. 1 pees Chauter at 22 rials per Corge, 1 pees Serebaffe[2] of 20 rials per corge, 1 pees Bafta of 16 rials per Corge. Giuen more to 7 of the Kinges women which came aboard with him 3 peeses Bafta of 20 rials per Corge, 2 peeses Bafta of 16 rials per Corge, 1 pees Bafta of 17, and 1 pees chauder at 8 rials per Corge.

[The King came aboord againe, and brought foure chiefe women with him. They were attired in gownes of silke, clapt the one sort ouer the other, and so girt to them, bare-

[1] Patani. [2] Perhaps zerbaft, gold-brocade (Yule and Burnell).

legged, only a paire of halfe buskins bound with silke riband about their instep: their haire very blacke, and very long, tyed vp in a knot vpon the crowne in a comely manner: their heads no where shauen as the mens were. They were well faced, handed, and footed; cleare skind and white, but wanting colour, which they amend by arte. Of stature low, but very fat; very curteous in behauiour, not ignorant of the respect to be giuen vnto persons according to their fashion. The King requested that none might stay in the Cabbin, saue my selfe and my Linquist, who was borne in Iapan, and was brought from Bantam in our ship thither, being well skild in the Mallayan tongue, wherin he deliured to me what the King spoke vnto him in the Iapan language. The Kings women seemed to be somewhat bashfull, but he willed them to bee frollicke. They sung diuers songs and played vpon certain Instruments (whereof one did much resemble our Lute) being bellyed like it, but longer in the neck, and fretted like ours, but had only foure gut-strings. Their fingring with the left hand like ours, very nimbly: but the right hand striketh with an Iuory bone, as we vse to play vpon a Citterne with a quill. They delighted themselues much with their musicke, keeping time with their hands, and playing and singing by booke, prickt on line and space, resembling much ours heere. I feasted them, and presented them with diuers English commodities: and after some two houres stay they returned].

I Spake vnto the King to haue a convenyent howse ashoare, which he willingly granted. And tooke Mr. Cocks and Mr. Peacock ashoare with him, to whome he showed 3 or 4 howses, willing them to take there choise, paing the owners as we could agree. They retorned aboard, hauing taken the one, but not fully agreed vpone price. Paid to the Pilatts which brought vs to an ankor heare 30 rials.

NOTE That my hole Companye heare is 70 persons, viz. 63 English, 1 Japan, 1 Spannyard and 5 swartes, hauing lost 11 betwene Bantam and this porte of Ferando in Japan. God contynew the liues of the rest. Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle.

The 13th [June] I conferred with Mr. Cocks and the marchants conserning 2 fitting presents for the King and Gouernor and was resolued vpone as Followeth, to be equallye deuided betwene them, viz.[1]

½ a stammet[2] c°, No. 61, cost	-	rials 056 . 1
½ a Black c°, No. 116, cost	-	rials 053 . 3
½ a Flame collor c°, No. 14, cost	-	rials 038 . 3
½ a Gallant[3] c°, No. 113, cost	-	rials 043 . 3
2 Barrells of pouder, cost	-	rials 035 . 2
2 doble lockt damasked peeces	-	rials 017 . 2
6 peeces Symmyan Chauters	-	rials 010 . 3
10 fine white Chauters	-	rials 011 . —
10 Blew Byrams	-	rials 007 . 2
10 peeses white Baftas	-	rials 005 . 2
10 peeses Casiny harere[4]	-	rials 010 . —
04 peeses Tapsell mature	-	rials 009 . —
10 peeses Redd Sellas[5]	-	rials 006 . —
04 peeses Alleiayes	-	rials 003 . 1
02 Gilte plate Cupps p°[6] 17⅝ oz	-	rials 030 . ⅞
02 peeses pintados pisgars[7]	-	rials 001 . —
Some	-	rials 340 . ⅜

[1] This was the present given to *each;* see note 3 on next page. The units in the right-hand column appear to be quarter-dollars.

[2] A stuff much used for petticoats, also a scarlet dye. Cp.—

"He rages like a bull in Circian Shew;
Whose dreadful hornes the stammell, which provokes
His furie, tosse with still deluded strokes."
(1626. W. Sandys, *Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses*).

[3] This word occurs in a list of cloths in the *First Letter-Book of the East India Company*, p. 97: "Flame Coullours, alias Gallauntes."

[4] See note on p. 42.

[5] A cotton stuff. See *s.v.*, *Shalee*, Yule and Burnell.

[6] For poiz, weight. In Cocks's *Diary* we find po, piz, and poiz used indifferently.

[7] Pintado, a painted or spotted cloth, *i.e.*, chintz.

I went ashoare and deliuered these presents accompaned with the marchants, the master and best of the salors, and had 9 pees shott at the deliuerye of each present, being the fashion so to doe, as the Flemings informe me, other wayes they thinke it not giuen with a free heart. I allso gaue to the younge King or Governor my Kittasall,[1] which he toke a liking to, being verye faire, of white dammaske with a deepe silke and gould fringe; not at present, but after my retorne aboard sent it vnto him, which he most kindlye accepted, requiting me with a millyan of Complyment, wherein they are very perfect by Portugales and Spanny-ards instructyons. I sent to the Captain of the Duch howse a Runlett of Spannish wyne and a Tearse[2] of stronge beare.[3]

Allowance Sack and Biskett, 1 meale beefe, 1 meale porke.

The 14th [June], vnderstanding that there weare other great men whoe expected presents, Conferred with the marchants, and appoynted as followeth for the younge

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[1] See note on p. 39.

[2] A vessel holding the third part of a pipe.

[3] "The thirteenth, I went ashoare, attended vpon by the Merchants and Principall Officers, and deliured the Presents to the King, amounting to the value of one hundred and fortie pounds, or thereabouts, which he receiued with very great kindnesse, feasting me and my whole companie with diuers sorts of powdered wild fowles and fruits: and calling for a standing Cup (which was one of the Presents then deliuered him) he caused it to be filled with his Countrey wine, which is distilled out of rice, and is as strong as our Aquauitæ: and albeit the Cuppe held vpward of a pint and a halfe, notwithstanding taking the Cup in his hand, he told me hee would drinke it all off, for a health to the King of England, and so did, myselfe and all his Nobles doing the like. And whereas in the roome where the King was, there was onely my selfe and the Cape Merchant (the rest of our Company being in another roome) the King commanded his Secretarie to goe out vnto them, and see that euerie one of them did pledge the health. The King and his Nobles did sit at meat crosse-legged vpon Mats, after the Turkie fashion, the Mats richly edged, some with cloath of Gold, some with Veluet, Satten, and Damaske" (Purchas).

Kings Brother and Nobasanie,[1] to be parted equally betwene them:

½ stammet c°,[2] cost (No. 61)	-	rials 056 . 1
½ a Gallant c°, cost (No. 113)	-	rials 043 . 3
10 peeses Blue Birams -	-	rials 007 . 2
10 Redd Sellas - -	-	rials 006 . —
20 peeses White Baftas -	-	rials 009 . —
10 peeses Cassiony harere	-	rials 009 . —
06 peeses fine Chauters -	-	rials 006 . 3
04 peeses fine Burralle -	-	rials 001 . 3
01 peese Tapsell -	-	rials 002 . 1
02 peeses pintados pisgar	-	rials 000 . 3
01 parratt bought of the Carpenter -	-	rials 015 . —
more 2 rials of 8 to Nobusannes 2 sonnes	-	rials 002 . —
Somme	-	rials 160 . 0

Captain Broore came aboard to dynnor; at his departure had 3 peeces. And so I went ashoare, accompaned with the marchants, and at deliuery of the said presents had 7 peeces shott of. And at coming aboard a noble man called Vnagensie[3] sent me a fatt hogg and 2 Barrells of wyne for a present. I retorned thankes, and gaue the messenger 1 pees white Bafta, And ordered 2 peeces of the same to be deliuered to John Japan to make him shirts, being our linguist. Allowance Sack and biskett, 1 meale porke with wheate, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

The 15th [June] vpone advise of 5 more which expected presents, and might greatly pleasure vs, it was resolued as

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[1] Nobusane (see p. 82).

[2] Colour.

[3] The name of this officer occurs frequently in Cocks's *Diary*, and in one place is given as "Nagen, or Unagense Dono" (ii, 125). Cocks calls him "captain-general" (i, 69). In the Tōkiō reprint of Cocks's *Diary* (Index, *s.v.*) the editor suggests that this name is a corruption of Naizen no Shō. *Nagen*, if the *g* were pronounced soft, might well stand for Naizen in Cocks's spelling. Perhaps the surname was Uno, and the form we find here may possibly be a corruption of Uno Naizen, the syllables *no* and *nai* being run together by a mistake.

fitting to giue emongest them these following parcells, viz. to Vno gensie and 3 Gouernors with Simmadona :[1]

½ a Black c°, No. 116, cost	-	rials 053 . 3
¼ Stammett c°, No. 55, cost	-	rials 030 . ⅝
½ a Flame c°, No. 114, cost	-	rials 038 . ¾
8 peeces Chauters -	-	rials 009 . —
18 peeces blewe Byrams -	-	rials 013 . 2
18 peeces white Baftas -	-	rials 008 . ⅛
10 peeces fine Burrall -	-	rials 004 . —
04 pieces pintados pisgar -	-	rials 001 . 1
18 peeces Cassyone harere	-	rials 016 . ⅛
21 peeces Redd Sellas -	-	rials 012 . ½
01 peece pintado -	-	rials 000 . 2
	Somme -	rials 188 . ⅛

I sent Mr. Cocks and the marchants to deliuer these presents, and to the King a faire pare of kniues; To Nobasanie a bottell of Spannish wyne and a bottell of roase water, and to Captain Brower a pott of English butter, all which was requited with Thankes.

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale Rice with oyle.

The 16th [June] I concluded with Captain Andace,[2] Captain of the China quarter heare, for his howse, to paye 95 rials of 8 for the monsone of 6 monethes, he to repare it at present and we to repare it heare after, and alter what we pleased, he to furnish all convenyent roomes with matts according to the fashion of the Counterye.

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale Beefe, 1 meale wheate with oyle.

The 17th [June] it was found necessarye to giue these following parcells to 3 officers, viz. the 2 Guardyans and Antony the Admirall of the sea:

[1] Same as Simadone (see p. 82).

[2] Cocks usually calls him Andrea Dittis.

3 yeardes Stammett c°, No. 61, cost	-	rials 010 . —
3 yeardes Black c°, No. 169, cost -	-	rials 009 . ⅜
2 blew Birams - - -	-	rials 001 . 2
2 Redd Sellayes - -	-	rials 000 . 3
4 white Baftas - - -	-	rials 002 . —
4 white Rangins - -	-	rials 001 . —
3 yeardes black c°, No. 169, cost -	-	rials 009 . ⅜
3 yeardes Gallant c°, No. 113, cost	-	rials 009 . —
2 peeces white Baftas - -	-	rials 001 . —
2 white Rangins - -	-	rials 000 . 2
1 Blew Byram - - -	-	rials 000 . 3
1 Redd Sella - - -	-	rials 000 . ⅜
1 Chint Amadauar[1] - -	-	rials 000 . 2
Somme	-	rials 046 . ⅛

This daye our shipp was so pestered with people as I was faine to send to the King for a Guardyan to Cleare them out, many things being stolne, but I more doute our one people then the naturalls, but they layd it one them, so we cannot finde the theefe.

There came in a Fleming from the Iland Mashma,[2] wheare he had beene, and sould good store of pepper, cloath and ollyuants teeth,[3] but would not be known to vs to have sould anye thing, yet brought nothing back in the boate with him ; but the Japans his watermen Tould vs the truth, and that he had sould good quantytye of Goods at a mart there which he carryed ouer with him, and retorned barrs of siluer, which they kept verye secret. Thomas Jones, Baker, was Taken by the Master Swymming ashoare in the night, yett he and others pardond at intreatye of Frindes.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale fresh porke, 1 meale freshe fish with vinegar.

The 18th [June] I sent Mr. Cocks to lye ashoare and my

[1] Chintz of Ahmadābād.

[2] See note on p. 77.

[3] Elephant's teeth ; *i.e.*, ivory.

Carpenter to instruct and giue directions for the necessarye fitting of the howse. Fransisco, a swart, whiped at the mast for stealing of John Japans cloake out of the English howse ashoare.

The King and his sonne came aboard to vizite me. Giuen to his sonne a parrakeeta cost 4 rials, and at parting 7 peeces.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale Rice and hennes, 1 meale fresh fish with vynegar.

The 19th [June] I went ashoare and vizited the ould and younge Kings, and hauing giuen some directyons about our howse, vizited the Flemings, and retorned aboard.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale salt porke, 1 meale Rice with oyle.

The 20th [June] there passed nothing.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 2 meales fresh porke.

The 21th [June] the ould King came aboard and brought with him his women to be frollyke.

[These women were Actors of Comedies, which passe there from Iland to Iland to play, as our Players doe here from Towne to Towne, hauing seuerall shifts of apparrell for the better grace of the matter acted; which for the most part are of Warre, Loue, and such like. These women are as the slaues of one man, who putteth a price what euery man shall pay that hath to doe with any of them; more then which he is not to take vpon paine of death, in case the partie iniured shall complaine. It is left to his owne discretion to prize her at the first, but rise he cannot afterwards, fall he may. Neither doth the partie bargaine with the Wench, but with her Master, whose command she is to obey. The greatest of their Nobilitie trauelling, hold it no disgrace to send for these Panders to their Inne, and do compound with them for the Wenches, either to fill their drinke at Table (for all men of any ranke haue their drinke filled to them by Women) or

otherwise to haue the vse of them. When any of these Panders die, though in their life time they were receiued into Company of the best, yet now, as vnworthy to rest amongst the worst, they are bridled with a bridle made of straw, as you would bridle an Horse, and in the cloathes they died in, are dragged through the streetes into the fields, and there cast vpon a dunghill, for dogges and fowles to deuoure.]

I intreated them kindlye with musicke and a bankett of Conserues of diuers sorts, which the King tooke verye well. Giuen to his majestie a prospectiue glass and a wrought nightcapp of black silke and Goulde. And so he tooke his leaue.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 22th [June] one Christopher Evens, Gunners mate, making a Common practice of going ashoare and lying out of the shipp without leaue, and in most leaude fashion spending his tyme in base baudye places, deniing to com aboard, for which cause I gaue order to sett him in the bilbowes, wheare before the Boateswane and most of the Companye he did most deepelye sweare to be the distructyon of Jack Sarys, for so it pleased him to calle me. The botswane made knowne this matter vnto me, Saing he douted he might in the night breake out of the Bilbowes, and performe som sudden villanye; wherefore I Conferred with the master his mates, Gunner, Carpenter and rest of the cheife, acquanting them hearewith; some of them acknowledged to haue allso hearde him to haue voued the same, all in Generall saing that he was a dangerous fellowe, and not fitt to be of the Gunner Roome, wheare allso was my greatest doute that he might blowe vp the shipp. And for that he was the onely cheife mutynor in the hector, from whence I tooke him out, and since his seruice in the Cloaue had twyce like to haue fired the shipp, once burning the Gunnor so extreamlye as he

was blynde for certane dayes, which most of the Companye helde he did willingly, a Budge[1] barrell of pouder standing hard by at the same tyme, which, yf it had taken, had blowne vp the deck, and spoyled manye betwene the decks. And vnderstanding by them and Mr. Wickham that he and one Muffett, being in the Mayeflower in the West Indyes, had betrayed there pinnace to the Spannyards there, and all the men instantly was putt to the sword, all but them too, whoe ware for the same putt in the Gallyes at the phillipinos, wheare they remaned a long tyme, I did with the rest stand in more doute of him, and willed the Gunnor that he should not suffer him to come anye more into the Roome, and willed all the rest to be as vigilent of him as they could, which they faithfullye promised, The Gunnor telling me that ever since I tooke him into the shipp, he durst not trust him to lade a peece he was so doutfull of him.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 23th [June] we had newes of 2 China Junkes arived at Langasaque laden with sugar.

[By him we vnderstood that the Emperour of China had then lately put to death about fiue thousand persons, for trading out of the Countrey, contrary to his Edict, confiscating all their goods; notwithstanding hope of profit enticed these men to put it in hazard, hauing bribed the new Pungauas[2] and Officers vpon the Sea-coast, which vpon the execution of the former, were placed in their steads.]

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 24th [June] vpone the Intreatye of Mr. Cocks and

[1] "A little Barrel made of Latten, filled with powder to carry from place to place for feare of fire ; in the couer it hath a longe necke to fill the Ladles withall without opening" (quoted in *A New English Dictionary, s.v.*).

[2] Malay *pĕnggáwa*, military officer.

others, allso vpone the submission of Evens, I caused him to be lett out of the bilbowes without anye further punishment.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 25th [June] there passed nothing.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 26th [June] at request of our landlord, I ordered Mr. Cocks to lett him haue 50 rials in part pament of his Rent.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 27th [June] there passed nothing.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 28th [June] nothing hapned.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 29th [June] A soma[1] of the Flemings ariued at Langasaque from Syam, laden with Brasele wood and skinnes of all sortes, wherein was said to be Englishmen, but proued Flemings.

[For that before our comming, they passed generally by the name of Englishmen: for our English Nation hath been long known by report among them, but much scandalled by the Portugals Iesuites, as Pyrats and Rouers vpon the Seas; so that the Naturals haue a song which they call the English Crofonia,[2] shewing how the English doe take the Spanish ships, which they (singing) doe act likewise in gesture with their Cattans by their sides, with which song and acting they terrifie and skare their children, as the French sometimes did theirs with the name of the Lord Talbot.][3]

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[1] Junk.

[2] This is *Kuro-fune* (black-ship), followed by the interjection *ya!* Even to-day foreign vessels are sometimes spoken of as *Kuro-fune* by country people.

[3] "Is this the Talbot, so much fear'd abroad,
That with his name the mothers still their babes?"
King Henry VI.—Part 1, Act ii., Sc. 3.

This daye Mr. Cocks writt me a letter, and sent aboard one Jasper, a Fleming, one of our Carpenters, who had abused the Captain China verye grocely, with whome I had agreed to finde them victualls so long as they wrought ashoare, which was fitted in as good fashion as any resonable man would desire, and all but the said Fleming lyked, finding faulte that his wyne was not good, and throwing his dishes about the howse, the Captain [being] at dynnor with them ; which so much discontented him, as he refused to provide for them any more. Mr. Cocks in presence when this abuse was offered, and hearing him to miscalle him, whoe we finde our great frind and willing to pleasure vs in what he can. I commaunded the boatswanes mates to bange the said Fleming with a rotan, which they denyed to doe, being boath drunck, wherefore I banged them boath soundlye, and caused the master to beate the Flemmeng well.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 30th [June] I ordered to be sent ashoare to Mr. Cocks 2 hhd. of wyne, 1 hhd. of Syder, and 145 lb. Biskett.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

July, 1613. The primo, the howse now readye, I send [sent] the marchants and the Spanyard to lye ashoare with there beaddes and chestes, and to take vp there lodgings, as Mr. Cocks should appoint them. But Wickham fauling at wordes with the Spannyard, challenged him the felde,[1] and foarst him out of dores ; but Mr. Peacock standing by acquainted Mr. Cocks hearewith, whoe Commaunded them to laye downe there weapons. The Spannyard forthwith obayed, but Wickham said he scorned anye authorytie could be giuen him to commaund him to laye downe his weapon when he list to take it vp in any occatyon, giuing

[1] Field ; *i.e.*, to a duel.

him most vile words; whearefore Mr. Cocks aduised me heareof, intreating me to take som speedye course with him, for the people flocked about the howse in great aboundance, and douted what they might doe, he not able to perswade Wickham. I sent for boath partyes aboard, and vnderstanding the matter, found it but the ordynarye bread portingall humor in Wickham, not disgesting[1] the Spannyard. I caused him to staye aboard, and sent the Skiffe for his Chest and bedding aboard againe, purposing to lett him rest tell he better vnderstand himselfe, and sent the Spanyard to assist Mr. Cocks, whoe found him verye dilligent, faithfull and necessarye; yf they had drawne it might haue brought boath ourselues, shipp and goods in danger, for the custome heare is that whoe ever drawes a weapone in Anger, albeit he doe no hurt therewith, is presentlye cutt in peeces, and doing but a smalle hurt, not onlye themselues are executed, but there hole Kindred. And yf it be thus with them, it is not good for strangers hauing no priualedge to presume ouer much.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 2 [July] I went to lye ashoare, and tooke with me for the howse 20 English, 2 strangers, 1 a Spannyard 1 a Japan, boath Jurebasses, and intertaned[2] 4 Japans for drudgerye, so that our houshold is 26 persons, 12 of them salors to take vp our goods, sort and helpe the marchants, hauing nothing for them to doe aboard.

[The second day, I went ashoare to keep house in Firando, the houshold consisting of twenty-six persons. Note, that at our comming we found Broad-clothes of fifteen

[1] *I.e.*, "The ordinary bred Portuguese humour in Wickham, not digesting (tolerating) the Spaniard." Pyrard de Laval, who met Wickham at Goa in 1609, especially notes his "proud and noble bearing, like a captain" (*Voyage*, Hakluyt Society's edn., vol. ii, p. 264); and numerous outbursts of passion on his part are recorded both in Cocks's *Diary* and the *Letters Received*.

[2] To take into one's service.

or sixteene pound a cloth to be sold by the Dutch in Firando for fortie Rials of eight, which is eight pound sterling the Mat,[1] which Mat is two yards and a quarter: but desirous to keep vp the price of our cloath, and hearing that the Dutch had great store there, I had conference with Brower, Captaine of their Factorie to this effect; That betwixt vs we should set rates vpon such clothes as both of us had, and neither of vs in any wise to sell under the price agreed vpon: for performance whereof, I proffered to enter into bond to him. In the morning he seemed to approue hereof, but ere night sent word that he disliked it, excusing himselfe that he had no warrant from his Masters to make any such agreement. The next morning, he shipped away great store of Cloath to diuers Ilands, rating them at base prizes, viz. at twentie, eighteene and sixteen Rials the Mat, that he might procure the more speedie dispatch of his owne, and glut the place before the coming of ours.

Bantam Pepper vngarbled[2] which cost at Bantam one

[1] *Mat.* In the Dutch factory piece-goods were measured by the *ikje*, which is a corruption of *ikken*, *i.e.*, one *ken*, a Japanese measure equal to 6 Japanese feet; Siebold (*Nippon*, iv) says the *ken* = 6.3 Japanese feet, or 1.909 metre, which would make 2.087 yards, not two yards and a quarter as Saris gives it.

How did the English come to use the word *mat*, and its equivalent *tatami* (as Cocks does in his *Diary*) for this Japanese measure? There are two possible explanations. First, that they adopted the Dutch word *maat* (measure), and confounded it with *mat*, which is the same in Dutch and English. Secondly, that the thick mats with which the flooring of a Japanese room is covered, and which serve to measure the size of a room, are one *ken* in length and half a *ken* in width, and they somehow came to believe that the Japanese measured lengths by "mats." The Japanese never used the *mat* as a linear measure, but the editor remembers that when he arrived in Japan in 1862 he heard Europeans use the word *mat* in speaking of Japanese lengths. It might be supposed that Saris, and Cocks after him, employed the word *mat* to measure broadcloth, as being a natural proceeding; but, in fact, Cocks uses it in stating mere linear measurements (thus, *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 27: "We bought 1484 fagottes of wood, every faggot being ½ a *tatta* in the band;" and p. 142: "More for 1000 sheathing boardes or plankes, containing 3 *tatt.* long and xij Japon inches broad").

[2] Unsifted.

Riall three quarters of eight the sacke, was worth here at our comming tenne Tayes[1] the Peecull, which is one hundred Cattees, making one hundred thirtie pound English subtill.[2] A Taye is fiue shillings sterling with them. A Riall of eight is worth there in ordinary payment but seuen Masse,[3] which is three shillings sixe pence sterling. For a Masse is as a Riall of Plate.

Tinne the Peecull, thirtie Tayes: Elephants Teeth, the Peecull eightie Tayes: Iron cast Peeces, the Peecull sixe Tayes: Powder, the Peecull twentie three Tayes: Aloes Socatrina, the Cattee sixe Tayes: Fowling Peeces, the peece twentie Tayes: Callico and such like Commodities of Choremandel, and of the Guzerates, as they are in goodnesse.[4]]

I writt a letter to Mr. Addams, and sent it by Simadona, whoe was bound to Ozaca, to deliuer it him yf he mett with him coming, or to bringe it back againe to Firando.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 3th [July] this daye the Kinge came to breckfast to me, whoe I acquanted that Brower, Captain of the duch, was to depart, as I heard, this night for Edo, and douted it was to be some hinderance to Mr. Addams his coming,

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[1] Taye or tael, the trade-name in China for the ounce of silver (see Yule and Burnell, *s.v.*).

[2] See note on p. 58.

[3] Masse, now spelt mace, the tenth part of a tael. Tael, mace, and candareen are merely names of moneys of account, according to the Chinese system, prevalent wherever the Chinese carried on trade. They had traded to Hirado for centuries before the arrival of either Portuguese, Dutch, or English. It is incorrect to call taels, etc., "Japanese currency." In Cocks's *Diary* bars of silver are frequently mentioned. The Japanese coin called *ichibu* is first mentioned in Cocks's *Diary* on his arrival at Fushimi, September 19th, 1618, and its value is taken at 1 tael, 6 mace, 4½ candareens. But this was the gold coin of that name, not the silver *ichibu*, which was first issued in 1837. Up to the discovery of Japan by the Portuguese in the middle of the sixteenth century, the only coins in general circulation were cash imported from China, and the precious metals passed from hand to hand by weight as in China.

[4] According to quality.

being that he made such hast and leaft his charge heare without anye owne duchman to looke to it, he all alone, the rest all despersed to Ilands abraud; he said he would at my request stop his journye, and did presentlye, sending abraude his order that no boate or barke departe out of the roade without his leaue. And taking greate liking to a Gould ring Mr. Cocks had [worthe 3li],[1] it was by counsell thought good to bestowe it one him, and Mr. Cocks to allowe himselfe for it.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 4th [July], having againe intellygence that there weare English men at Langasaque com from Syam, acquanted the King that I purposed to send a marchant thether to see, and at his owne charge he proferred me a barke of speede, which I accepted, and sent Mr. Peacock to inquire the truthe. I allso acquanted him thatt Brower was this last night gone for Langasaque, which he sent to inquire, and found it True. Whearfore presentlye sent and seased one the master of the barkes howse and goods, imprisoned his famelye, and it is douted will execute the man at retorne for disobaying his order.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 5th [July] I was feasted by a nobleman called Unogensie.[3] And at retorne home found Captain Brower staing to vizit me, saing that he was come from Langasaque, wheare was a Soma of this Counterye come from Syam, wherein Lucas Antonyson[2] had laden a certane quantytie of Braseele wood for the account of the English companye. I thanked him for his newes, and asked him wheather he did see anye letters for the English. He said such goods could not come without letters of advice.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

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[1] Crossed out in MS.

[2] A Dutchman in the English service (*Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 136, etc.), employed in the Siam trade.

[3] See p. 87.

The 6th [July] Captain Brower sent me a letter certifing me that he had mistaken himselfe, and that sicknes and ouerwaking was the occatyone thereof, The truth being that no such woode as he formerly had tould me was come for the account of the English, But that Lucas Antonyson had sould the said wood to the Master of the Soma called John Yozen,[1] a Fleming, at a price to paye two for one at his retorne for Siam. This letter did not well please me, houlding that the Fleming did but scoffe me. Wherevpone I sent Mr. Cocks to Broower, to will him to consider better of the matter, for I would not be Jested with, and that yf he could not showe me better proofe of the bargaine made then his owne worde, I would, as littell knoledge as I had in the Counterye, take that course as should not be pleasing to him. He tould Mr. Cocks he had, sence the ariuall of the Soma, bought the same wood of Yozen, and cared not what course I could take, with which answer Mr. Cocks retorned. This Yeozen, as I am credablye informed, is a basse fellowe and was one of the Factions[2] in the Flemish shipp long since ruinated whereof Mr. Addams was pilatt.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 7th [July] I sent Mr. Cocks with a Jurebasso to the ould King, and aduised him what had passed betwene Brower and me, intreating his Majestie that the Goods might be sequestrated, and no saile made thereof Till Mr. Addams came, whoe was acquanted with the said Yozen. The which the King presently granted, and sent an officer foarthwith to Brower, to charge him not to sell or send awaye anye of the said wood, and to lett his seruant haue a vewe in his warehowse, what quantytye there might be

[1] In *Letters Received*, etc., called John Yoosen (vol. ii, p. 68). He was one of the crew of the vessel in which Wm. Adams was cast away on the coast of Japan.

[2] See note on p. 80.

of it without deceite, which was presently performed. The officer retorned, made a good jest of Mr. Browers collor in this course.[1]

This daye 2 Spannyards came to intreate they might haue leaue to goe aboard the shipp, saing they weare of Mr. Addams his acquantance ; wherefore I gaue leaue, but writt the Master to be carefull of them, for that I douted they weare but fuiatiues[2] and spies from the preeistes of Langasaque. Allso the King of Goto came to visite the King of Ferando, hearing of a most excellent shipp in his kingdom, as he said, and desired he might goe aboard and see hir. The King sent and intreated me he might be permitted, and vsed kindly, for he was his good frind. I writt the Master to intertane him well, and sent Mr. Cocks to accompanye him, offering myselfe, but the ould King intreated the Contrarye, and apoynted 5 peeces to be giuen him at departure, which gaue the ould King great Content, and the other sent me great thanks for, wishing he might liue to see some of our natyon to ariue at his Iland, wheare he hoped our intertanement should be to our Content.

The younge King sent me half a fatt buck, which I caused to be baked in 2 pastyes, and retorned him the one with 2 bottells of wyne with thankes, which he tooke in frindly sorte.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 8th [July] there weare 3 Japanns executed, viz., 2 men, one woman, the woman hauing apoynted them boath severall howres, hir husband gone to another Iland, to come and passe tyme, but each thinking long tell his howre came, or not willing to lett slipp his howre, it hapned the one came before the other was discharged ; he without imployment, occupied his Cattan vpone them boath, so

[1] Anger over this matter.

[2] Fugitives.

that all three weare sorelye woonded, and presently seased vpon, weare taken aside, there heades first strooke of, and then every man suffered to proue his Cattan one the Carcasses, so that they weare cutt into peeces no bigger then a mans hand presently.[1]

Giuen this daye 1 peece white Rangenes to the Kings man which brought the venyson, and 1 peece Baffta to him which went with Mr. Peacock to Langasaque.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 9th [July]. After midnight the ould King sent to the howse, to intreat me to send Mr. Cocks and my linguist to him, which I did. The occatyon was to intreat me to excuse him for that he came not so offten to vizite me as formerly; the reason was for that he douted a spie to be in Towne, sent by the Emperor to take notis what curtesyes past betwene vs; notwithstanding he would not want now and then to come vnto me, expecting the like from me; And sent vnto me by him a Cattan, which for manye yeares he had worne himselfe, intreating me to accept thereof, and keepe it for his sake. He also entered into speeches with them about the prises of our Comodytyes,

[1] "The eighth, three Iaponians were executed, viz., two men and one woman: the cause this; The woman, none of the honestest, (her husband being trauelled from home) had appointed these two their seuerall houres to repaire vnto her. The latter man not knowing of the former, and thinking the time too long, comming in before the houre appointed, found the first man with her already, and enraged thereat, he whipt out his Cattan, and wounded both of them very sorely, hauing very neere hewne the Chine of the mans backe in two. But as well as he might he cleared himselfe of the woman, and recouering his Cattan, wounded the other. The street taking notice of the fray, forthwith seased vpon them, led them aside, and acquainted King Foyne therewith, and sent to know his pleasure (for according to his will, the partie is executed), who presently gaue order that they should cut off their heads: which done, euery man that listed (as very many did) came to trie the sharpnesse of their Cattans vpon the Corps, so that before they left off, they had hewne them all three into peeces as small as a mans hand, and yet notwithstanding did not then giue ouer, but placing the peeces one vpon another, would try how many of them they could strike through at a blow: and the peeces are left to the Fowles to deuoure" (Purchas).

willing me not to sett to hie a rate thereone, for so we should not sell them in a long tyme. The Flemings, as he said, hauing much hindered themselues that waye. And he douted not but the Emperor wolde buy the greatest part of our goods. And after himselfe and his frindes would haue som part.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 10th [July] 3 Japans weare executed as the former for stealing of a woman from this towne and selling hir at Langasaque long sence, two of them Brothers, the other a sharer with them.

[When any are to be executed, they are led out of the Towne in this manner: There goeth first one with a Pick-axe, next followeth another with a shouell for to make his graue (if that bee permitted him); the third man beareth a small Table whereon is written the parties offence, which table is afterwards set vp vpon a Post on the graue where he is buried. The fourth is the partie to be executed, his hands bound behind him with a silken cord, hauing a little Banner of Paper (much resembling our wind vanes) whereon is likewise written his offence. The executioner followeth next, with his Cattan by his side, holding in his hand the cord wherewith the offender is bound. On either side of the executioner goeth a soldiour with his pike, the head thereof resting on the shoulder of the partie appointed to suffer, to skare him from attempting to escape. In this very manner I saw one led to execution, who went so resolutely and without all appearance of feare of death, that I could not but much admire him, neuer hauing seene the like in Christendome. The offence for which he suffered was for stealing of a sacke of Rice (of the value of two shillings sixe pence) from his neighbour, whose house was then on fire.]

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 11th [July] there came to vizite me one Melser van

Jonford,[1] a Fleming, and one of those which came in the shipp with Mr. Addams into this counterye, and at present came from Syam and brought letters to Mr. Addams from Lucas Antonysonne for Mr. Addams, which he deliuered me for him, being bound awaye to his howse at Sackca,[2] wheare he is maryed. I did offer him intertanement, finding him verye stayde and vnderstanding, boath in the language as allso in traficke, or to bring him into England yf he so pleased, but he refused boath, being better affected to this course of life, houlding it farr more contenting then yf he weare in his owne counterye. I had intelligence of 3 China Junkes ariued at Langasaque laden with silkes.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 12th [July] Melser came to vizite me, and gaue me som good notes of the course of trade in these parts, acknowledging there was great profitt to be made, but must be followed by china and Syam wares, as the porting-galle, Spannyard and there natyon did, being furnished at pottanye[3] of all sorts and in what quantytye yearlye they listed, but the other natyons had theres from Mack-cawe[4] and the phillipinas; he desired to see the shipp, which I granted, and in regard of his willingnes to giue me the best advice he could, gaue him 3 peeces at departure, and his childe 1 pees Callyco.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 13th [July] being thought fitting by Mr. Cocks and the marchants to bestowe a present of our landlord, whoe was verye dilligent in helping vs, it was concluded to bestowe these parcells, viz.

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[1] Later (9th November), called van Samford. Melchior Sandvoord, according to Valentijn, one of the shipwrecked crew of *De Liefde*.

[2] Either Ōsaka or Sakai, a town near to the former.

[3] Patani.

[4] Macao.

3 yardes blacke co[lour], No. 169 - -	rials 009 . —
3 peeses Bafftas - - -	rials 001 . 2
2 peeses Blewe Byrammes - -	rials 001 . 2
2 peeses Red Sellas - -	rials 001 . ⅛
	rials 013 . ⅛

Mr. Cocks had order to deliuer the purser 50 Tayes Japan monye (is 62½ rials) for the provityon of the shipp. Borrowed of the ould King 500 rials of 8, Japan monye. Sould to Tone Same the young King 2 Barrells of pouder, to paye as the rest shalbe sould.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 14th [July] this daye was brought ashoare 124 Elliuants Teethe, 3 Chestes and part of a Cheste of Tinne, and 2 hhd. Galles and all the braud cloathes. I apointed Wm Eaton Cater[1] of the howse. I sent Mr. Peacock to Compliment with the 2 Kings, which they tooke verye kindlye.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 15th [July] This daye was braught ashoare 12 hh., 1 Butt of Cloaues.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 16th [July] brought ashoare 650 barrs of leade. Deliuered to the young King 20 lb. Cloaues, is 15 Cattyes, to paye as the rest are sould.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 17th [July] brought ashoare 281 barrs lead. I sent a faire leading staff, gracefully sett out, to the King, which he tooke in kinde parte. And came to dynnor to me.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 18th [July] The ould and young Kings sent me presents of etable Commodytyes, which according to the

[1] Caterer.

vallewe giuen to there seruants which brought them, 2 peeces course callyco of 10 rials per Corge.

Allowance [*blank in MS.*]

The 19th [July] The ould King intreated for a peece of poulḍauis,[1] which I sent him: he caused it presently to be made into coates, which he [notwithstanding that hee was a King, and of that great age, and famed to be the worthiest souldiour of all Iapan for his valour and seruice in the Corean warres] wore next his skinne, and some parte was cut out into handkerchers, which he daylye vseth.

Our salors brought ashoare for the help of the marchants doe so drunkenly behaue them selues, as I am constraned to send two, Laurens and Conawaye, aboard againe, with order not to com ashoare without the masters leaue.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale, with saufte bread boath meales, 16 oz. (?) to a loafe, 2 a messe per daye.

The 20th [July] Simmadone retorned me my letter directed to Mr. Addams, being com back and not meeting with him. 95 Sacks pepper was brought ashoare: I vnderstoode of a Soma come from Cochanchina to Langasaque, laden with silkes and Beniamine, excellent cleere and rich.

Allowance, Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle, and loafe bread boath meales.

The 21th [July] John Yozen the Fleming, which came from Syam and is said to haue bought the wood aforesaid of S[igno]r Lucas, Came to vizite me, and lefte with me a letter for Mr. Addams. He said he would proue the wood was sould to him, to paye two for one at his retorne to Siam, but the matter resteth tell Mr. Addams doth come,

[1] According to the *Century Dictionary*, the same as Polldavy or Poledavy, a sort of coarse canvas (Nares' *Glossary*). Canvas is defined in *A New English Dictionary* as a strong unbleached cloth made of hemp (*cannabis*, whence the word) or flax, used (in different forms) as the material for sails of ships, for tents, and by painters for oil-paintings; formerly also for clothing, etc.

whose letters will make the truth manyfaste. The ould King came while this fleming was with me. He tould me he was of no accompt and verye much indetted in the counterye.

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale fresh fishe, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle, and loafe bread as formerly.

The 22th [July] the King came to vizite me and tooke liking to 6 verye fine cayne staues wrought, a Bandaleere[1] verye large and for my owne use, and a faire large fan of Eastridg[2] feathers, all which was thought fitt by myself and the marchants to bestowe vpone him, finding him kinde and not denying anye thing I request.

And at his departure Simadona came to complyment with me, making relatyon of a voyage he pretended[3] to the Emperors court, but for som occatyons did not proseede further then Ozacaye.[4] But I rather thinke he hath beene at som Iland heare about, to sell those presents bestowed by me vpone the Kings, himselfe and rest of the nobillytye. And which makes me the more confident therein is, he is desirous to haue of the same Commodityes som quantytye, but vpone trust, but I hould Compliment fitter for such a customer then Commodytye, hauing latlye heard he is much indeted to the Flemings and is a badd pamaster.

Tonesame, the young King, had credit this daye for 1 sack pepper poiz 103 Cattyes, and 1 sack Cloues poiz 85 Cattyes, to paye as the rest is sould.

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale oatmeale and oyle, with loafe bread.

The 23th [July]. This daye there passed nothing.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale fresh fish with oyle, and loafe bread as vsyall.

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[1] A small wooden case covered with leather, containing powder sufficient for a charge.
[2] Estrich, ostrich.
[3] Intended.
[4] Ozaka, or Osaka.

The 24th [July] The young King sent a bill for his dett, and verye great fish for a present. The ould King sent one of the same fishes, and came to dynnor to me.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale fresh fish and oyle, with loafe bread.

The 25th [July] This being our Kings Coronatyon daye, I ordered 11 peeces ordnance to be shott of, our shipp to putt abraude all hir gallantry, which the naturalls tooke greate notis of, the King much commending our order in remembering our dutye. And in the afternoone viziting his majestie at his coart, he bestowed vpone me a faire armor, which he said he would giue at this present for that he held it of som esteeme, hauing worne it in the warrs of Corea, And in honnor of his Majesties Corronatyon. I imbrast his loue and receaued his present with 9 peeces ordnance in honnor thereof, which gave him such great Content that he began a health of a pinte of admirable strong wyne to his Majesty of England, causing his secrytarye to goe foarth and see that all that came with me had the same.

Allowance, 1 meale fresh beefe and pottage, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle, and loafe bread boath meales.

The 26th [July] The ould King came to dynnor, intreating me to pardon his bouldnes, saing he held his tyme well past in my Companye. And willed me to hould myselfe as welcom to Ferando as in my owne Countery, and for that Mr. Addams stayed long, yf I pleased he would fitt me with a barke of speede to keepe the shoare betweene this and the strates of Shemenaseque[1] to see yf they could heare of him there, for the wynds westerly was the occatyon he came not. I accepted of his kindnes, and dispatched this night Sensabro[2] dono, Mr.

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[1] Shimonoseki.

[2] Probably Zenzaburō. "Dono" is equivalent to "Mr."

Addams his oaste,[1] thinking the tyme longe tell he came. I gaue vnto his majesty a faire Curtlos,[2] hung in a rich heare[3] cullored Taffeta scarfe, with a deepe siluer fringe of a hand long, garnished with spangells, a faire Gilded head brush, and a cap of curyous worke in collored silke.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale Rice with oyle, and boath meales loafe bread.

The 27th [July] there passed nothing.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale Rice with oyle, and loafe bread boath meales.

The 28th [July] The young King and the cheife of the nobillyty came with a great trane to vizit me. I intertaned them fitting there worth with a rich bankett and musick, which they tooke great pleasure in. And after there departure Aandace[4] our landlord layed a wager with me of 10 rials of 8, that Mr. Addams would be heare in 4 dayes, which I accepted of, wishing to leese[5] so he weare com, or that there weare no such in the Counterye, for expecting him I doe nothing but lye at charge.

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale of fresh fish, 1 meale Rice with oyle, and lofe bread boath meales.

The 29th [July] about 10 a clock before nowne Mr. Addams ariued aboard the Cloaue, and was receaued with 3 peeses. He had beene 17 dayes coming betwene Sorongo[6] and Ferando. I sent Mr. Cocks and Mr. Peacock in my skiff fitted verye comly for him, with order to giue him 9 peeces more at landing at the English howse, wheare I receaued him in the best mannor I could for his better grace, wheareof notis was taken of the counterye people. And diuers weare inquisatyue, I know not for what cause, wheather Ange would lodge in our howse. I conferred

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[1] Host. [2] Cutlass. [3] Hare.

[4] See p. 88. [5] Lose.

[6] Suruga, the province in which Iyeyasu's place of residence, Sumpu (now called Shidzuoka) was situated.

with him in the presents of Mr. Cocks and the marchants, what incurragement he could giue me of trade in these parts. He said it was not allwayes alike, but somtymes better somtymes worse, yet douted not but we should doe as well as others, saing he would doe his best, giuing so admirable and affectionated commendatyons of the Counterye as it is generally thought emongest vs that he is a naturalised Japanner. I intreated him to make choise of anye chambers in the howse, and to acquant the Cooke what dyatt he best affected, and it should be provided. And Mr. Cocks and whoe else of the marchants should at his pleasure accompanye him in the towne. He intreated me to pardon him: he would for 3 or fowre dayes repare to his cullors, which he had put out at an ould wyndo in a poore howse, being a S^{t} Georg made of course cloath, nether would admit of anye marchant or other to accompanye him, which vnto vs all was verye strange, yet I would not further importune him tell more acquantance, praying him to doe what he thought best, but with all to remember I was alowne, and should be glad to inioye his most acceptable Companye, which I had long expected, and tyme of yeare would com one so that I should neede his helpe to confer of the present puting in ,practis the cause of my coming, That I might be readye to take the first of the N.E. wynds to retorne. He said he would be with me when I pleased to send for him, and should not misse of him, ether at his owne howse or at the Flemings. And so making a short dynnor, tooke his leaue, manye profering after he came downe to goe along in companye with him in loue, but he intreated the contrarye, as some weare not well pleased, thinking that he thought them not good enoffe to walke with him.

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale Rice with oyle, and lofe bread boath meales.

The 30th [July] in the morning one of the kings Gouer-

nors was by his order cutt to peeces in the streete, being thought to be to fafillyer[1] with his mother. Allso a proper fellow, a slaue of his, dyed with him, seeking to defend his master.

I intreated Mr. Addams to dynnor aboard the shipp, wheare he made little staye, diuers spannyards and portingales of Langasaque, salors, being com to vizite him. At his departure shott 5 peeces. These spannyards, as I am Credablye informed by the Captain Chinesa, haue ouerthrone there Generall heare, whoe was sent out by the King of spaine from perowe to discouer to the Northward of Japan; And haue been kept in obscurytye by Mr. Addams, whome they vse as there Jurebassa and hoste, The Emperor hauuing granted out his warrant to the Generall for the aprehending of them, but shifting into severall Ilands they passe.[2] This daye zanzebar,[3] Mr. Addams hoste, retorned, hauing missed of him in the waye, where at the King was so displeased as he would, had I not greatly intreated for him, haue bannished him, as he which carryed my former letter to Mr. Addams was for making no more haste.

Christopher Evens,[4] for liing ashoare without leaue, was sett in the Bilbowes, but after prayer released, promising amenment; yett before we had dyned went ashoare againe without leaue, and remaned all daye in the spannyards companye, from which I had forewardned him, yett was he at this tyme onlye bilbouysed and lett passe.

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[1] A slip of the pen: "Famillyer" is meant.

[2] "This day there came to Firando certaine Spaniards of M. Adams his acquaintance, to desire passage in our ship for Bantam. These Spaniards had been belonging to a Spanish Gentleman their Generall, who about a yeare past, were come (vpon the King of Spaines charge) from Noua Hispania, to discouer to the Northward of Iapan, and arriuing at Edoo, attending the Monson to goe to the Northward, which beginneth in the end of May, his Company (whereof these were two) mutinied against him, euery man taking his owne way, leauing the ship vtterly vnmanned, wherefore I thought it best to keepe them out of my ship" (Purchas).

[3] Zenzaburō.

[4] See p. 91.

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale fresh fish, 1 meale Rice with oyle, and loafe bread boath meales.

The 31th [July] I Conferred with the marchants conserning some fitt present to be giuen Mr. Addams, whereby he might haue some feeling of his brothers. For that no peny, no paternoster[1] in this age. It was resolued one these parsells viz.

4 yeardes Black co[lour], No. 169	-	rials 011 . $\frac{7}{8}$
4 yeardes Stamet co[lour], No. 206	-	rials 012 . 1
3 Fine Chauters	-	rials 003 . $\frac{1}{8}$
5 Blew Birammes	-	rials 003 . $\frac{3}{4}$
10 White Bafftas	-	rials 005 . —
5 Alleiayes	-	rials 005 . —
10 Redd Sellas	-	rials 006 . —
Totall	-	rials 047 . 0

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale Rice with oyle.

August, 1613. The primo there passed nothing, only I bestowed these things following vpone Mr. Addams a present from myselfe, viz.

2 Fine shashes ad valorum	-	rials 012 . —
4 Bookes fine Callico	-	rials 024 . —
1 Tapseele	-	rials 007 . —
1 Symmian Chauter	-	rials 008 . —
5*li.* Allowayes Socotrina	-	rials 010 . —
1 Sute Silke Grograne faire	-	rials 030 . —
1 White hat and Band	-	rials 006 . —
1 very faire Band and Cuffs	-	rials 003 . —
1 Shirt of fine Holland	-	riuls 002 . $\frac{1}{2}$
1 paire of Worsted stockins	-	rials 002 . —
1 pare Silke Garters	-	rials 002 . —
1 pare Spanish leder Slippers	-	rials 001 . —
1 Handkercher of fine Hollond	-	rials 000 . $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Turkey Carpett	-	rials 010 . —
		rials 118 . 0

[1] See T. Heywood's *Proverbs and Epigrams*, 1562.

In Requitall heareof he bestowed vpone me a Saluitarye[1] and plaster box for a Chirurgion, of Meacko ware, worth heare 6*s*., which I kindly accepted.

Allowance Biskett, fresh beefe and pottage, dynnor and supper.

The 2th [August] This daye Mr. Addams inuited to the duch howse. With much intreatye I procured him to take Mr. Cocks with him, willing him To take notis of the Flemings vsage of him, which was but ordynarye. Brower desired to haue an accompt of him for certane Goods some of there factors had formerly left in his hands to sell at a price, and further Accompt of his seruing of them. Mr. Cocks said he did not perceaue they did greatly respect [him].

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale fresh beefe and pottage, 1 meale oatmeale with oyle.

The 3th [August] The King sent to knowe of what Bolke[2] the Kings present to the Emperor was of, allso what number of people I would take with me, for that he would provide accordinglye for my going vp in good fashion, boath for Barke, horse and pallankeene, yf I pleased, all at the Kings or Emperors charge. I retorned word I would confer with Mr. Addams and then sent [send] him word.

I sent for Mr. Addams to supper, and by much intreatye perswaded him to lye in the howse this night, that we might confer of our business; but manye tymes the Spann-yard salors sent for him, with whome his better part was, but went not to them.

This night I willed Mr. Cocks to deliuer John Japan, our linguist, 10 rials to provide himselfe of necessaryes for the Journye, but vpone accompt of his wages. I Conferred with Mr. Cocks, the marchants and Mr. Addams consern-

[1] A salvatory, or receptacle for unguents.

[2] Bulk.

ing befitting presents for the Emperor and chiefe of his nobillytie, which was Concluded of as Followeth:

Ogoshosama,[1] *the Emperor, his present.*

1 Gilt Bason and yewer, poiz 64½ oz. -	rials [*blank*]
1 Black Cloath, No. 30, c° 38 yeardes, cost -	rials 0115 . --
1 Stammet[2] Kersie,[3] cost - -	rials 0021 . 1
2 Dammasked peeces - - -	rials 0050 . —
1 peece Cambrick, verye fine - -	rials 0045 . —
1 peece Lawne, verye fine - -	rials 0045 . —
4 Symian Chauters - - -	rials 0007 . —
5 Blewe Birammes - - -	rials 0007 . ½
2 verye fine shashes - - -	rials 0015 . —
5 peeces very fine Baftaes - -	rials 0025 . —
1 prospectiue Glasse cast in siluer Gilte -	rials 0006 . —
1 Staue Bowe made at Sea - -	rials 0000 . —
xl*s.* in Gould, viz. 1 Jacobus, 1 souerane, 1 Angell - - - -	rials 0010 . —
1 verye faire Burning Glasse - -	rials 0002 . —
1 peece zella[4] for Tilletts[5] - -	rials 0000 . 3
	rials 0349 . ¼ [½ ?]

Shongo[6] *sama, the Emperors sonne*, viz.

1 Great standing cup and Couer, poiz 30 oz. at 7*s.* - - - -	rials 0052 . ½
½ a blewe cloath, No. 97, cost 17 *li.* 10*s.* -	rials 0043 . 3
½ a lemon cloath, No. 88, cost 12.10*s.* -	rials 0033 . 3
1 dammasked peece, cost- - -	rials 0025 . 0
10 pees White Baftas - - -	rials 0005 . —
7 pees Simian Chauters - - -	rials 0003 . 2
6 peeces fine Chauters - - -	rials 0007 . —
6 peeces blewe Birammes - -	rials 0004 . 2
	rials 0175 . —

[1] *Gosho*, literally "honourable place," with the prefix ō = great, denotes the retired Shōgun Iyeyasu. *Sama* = Mr., or Monsieur.

[2] See note on p. 85.

[3] Modern kersey, a kind of coarse woollen cloth, usually ribbed (*Century Dictionary*).

[4] Probably the same as *sellas*.

[5] Wrappers or coverings (see note on "tilletted" on a later page).

[6] Shōgun.

Codskedona,[1] *the Emperors secritarie:*

1 smale gilte cup and couer, cost	-	rials 0028 . —
¼ of a lemmon cloath, No. 88, cost	-	rials 0016 . ⅞
5 Alleiayes - - -	-	rials 0005 . —
4 Chauters - - -	-	rials 0004 . 3
10 White Baftes - -	-	rials 0005 . —
5 Blew Byrammes - -	-	rials 0003 . 3

This present was retorned and not taken of him.

Sadda dona,[2] *the kings secrytarye, viz.*

1 Gilt cup and Couer abouesaid	-	rials 0028 . —
¼ of a lemmon cloath abouesaid	-	rials 0016 . ⅞
3 Chauters - - -	-	rials 0003 . ⅛
10 Baftas - - -	-	rials 0005 . —
5 Byrams - - -	-	rials 0003 . 3

Icocora Inga,[3] *Judg of Meaco:*

4 yeards Black cloath - -	-	rials 0011 . ⅞
4 Byrammes - - -	-	rials 0003 . 3
4 Baftas - - -	-	rials 0002 . 2
	Some	rials 0018 . ⅛

[1] Honda Kōdzuke no suke; see below under Sado no kami.

[2] Honda Sado no kami was an intimate friend and counsellor of Iyeyasu, being born in 1538, and hence five years his senior. He acted as a sort of Chief of the Staff to him; and eventually, when Iyeyasu resigned the office of Shōgun in 1605 in favour of his son Hidetada, Sado no kami accompanied the latter to Yedo as his prime minister. Sado no kami's eldest son, Kōdzuke no suke, remained with Iyeyasu at Sumpu as his chief counsellor. The two Hondas together practically ruled the country. Iyeyasu died June 1st, 1616, and his great retainer on July 20th following.

[3] Itakura Iga no Kami, b. 1542, first entered the Buddhist priesthood, but returned to civil life in 1574, to replace a brother who had fallen in battle. In 1588, when Iyeyasu removed to Sumpu in Suruga (the modern Shidzuoka), he appointed Itakura civil governor of the town, and in 1599 promoted him to be Resident (Shoshidai) at Kiōto. This officer might almost be styled Viceroy of Kiōto. He retained the office till succeeded by his son, Suwō no kami, in 1620. His position would probably be best represented to the mind of an Englishman of that day by the title of Lord Chief Justice. So Saris calls him "Judg of Meaco" (*i.e.*, of Kiōto).

To Fongo dono, the Admirall of Orungou,[1] viz.

2 Byrammes - - - -	rials 0003 . 3
2 Baftas - - - -	rials 0002 . 2
2 Selas - - - -	rials 0002 . 2
2 Rangins - - - -	rials 0001 . 1
4 Allyas - - - -	rials 0004 . —
	rials 0014 . 0

To Goto Shozauera, the mint master,[2] viz.

4 yeardes Black cloath, No. 169 - -	rials 011 . $\frac{7}{8}$
4 yeardes stammett, No. 206 - -	rials 012 . 1
4 Chauters - - - -	rials 004 . $\frac{3}{8}$
10 Baftas - - - -	rials 005 . —
5 Byrammes - - - -	rials 003 . 3
10 Burralls - - - -	rials 003 . 2
01 Dastar of 35 rials per Corge - -	rials 001 . 3
01 Shash of 29 - - - -	rials 001 . 2
	rials 044 . 0

More it was Resolued to send in 2 Chestes, N° E and F, the musters[3] of all our cambaya cloath, as apeares in the wast booke. Allso a Barrell of Gunpouder, poiz 48*li.*, 1 peece or barr of leade, 2 Barrs Tynne, 1 peece of [or?] a barr of Steele, and one sea chest with diuers sorts of Commodytyes, to leaue at Ozakey To sell by Mr. Addams his advize. Mr. Cocks delivered to Mr. Peacock 1 bagg Royalls of eight, Contaning 500 rials for our expences one the waye.

[1] Orungou is evidently Uraga, near the entrance of the Bay of Yedo, and not many miles from Wm. Adams' residence at Hemi mura. It seems that this officer had a country house at Misaki, the Cape not far from Uraga, whence Saris calls him the Admirall of Orungou. His name was Mukai Bungo no Kami, and his son, Mukai Shōgen, who succeeded him in his office, is frequently mentioned in Cocks's *Diary*.

[2] The proper spelling is Gotō Shōzaburō. This man was a skilful engraver, whom Iyeyasu made Master of the Mint; and as he was intelligent in affairs of state, took him into his confidence.

[3] Patterns.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale Rice and oyle.

The 4th [August] we did nothing, Mr. Addams hauing diuers Spannyards and portingales come from langasaque to vizite him, and to see the shipp. I sent order aboard to see he weare well vsed and his frindes.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale fresh fish.

The 5th [August] Readye to depart, the ould King came to vizite me and desired me staye one daye longer, for that his man was not yet readye, which Mr. Addams was much against, not affecting him whome he ment to send with me. But being butt vpone a matter touching them selues, and hauing found this Japanner his man verye honnest and dilligent, allso of good accompt, promised to staye longer yf it might doe his Majestie anye seruice. I earnestly intreated Mr. Addams I might haue his Companye this night to fitt diuers businesses, being readye to depart, and not willing to doe anything but with his advize. He intreated pardon for he was invited to a bankett by Spannyards, and tell morning could not staye with me. Wherefore gaue him leaue to take his course and make shifte with our ould linguist as well as we can.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale Rice with oyle.

The 6th [August] the Kings Gallye was fitted with 25 oares one a side and 40 men. I appointed our Goods to be sent aboard and 2 English to lye there and looke to it; my selfe tooke leaue of the Kings, and went to lye aboard the shipp, hauing some busines to sett in order. The gallye came and rid astarne of me.

I deliuered to Mr. Cocks and the master certane Remembrances, the which ware as followeth, viz.

To Mr. Richard Cocks, Cape Marchant.

I should haue beene glad To haue had your Companye to the Emperor, honnest Mr. Cocks, But that by the fine[1] of this moneth the marchants of Meacko,[2] Langasaque and other parts wilbe heare, So that some good quantytye of our Commodytyes may be vented ;[3] whearefore I leaue you heare, having no doute but, according to your accustomed care, you will see all matters ashoare so managed, as there shall appeare no difference between vs and the Flemings, The reporte of whose rude and blunt behauiour hath beene the greatest cause That there Goods hath not been in such quantytye vented as otherwayes would haue beene. Mr. Addams is of opinyon that the Emperor will buy all our munityon and finest sorts of Cambaya goods, Whearefore he desireth that little or no sale thereof be made, nether of the leade nor tynne. But pepper, Braud cloath, Olliuants teeth, cloaues and all the sorts of striped stuffs is fitting to be put of, for that they be not much requested. And what Braud cloath shalbe vnsould at my retorne he hopes the Emperor will Take, For being so evell-Condytyoned, course and hie prised, There is otherwayes littell hope that it wilbe vented.

I hould it necessarye to leaue no more people with you then 7, viz. 3 English and 4 Japans. All the rest to repare to the shipp to helpe the master, with whome I leaue order for there dyatt and keeping aboard. So that except you haue vse of there helpe, which, upone notis Giuen the master, shall not be denyed, you haue no neede to Troble your selfe with them.

I praye haue a care to youre warehowse one the other side, And confer with the master for the Convenyent placing of the pouder and pepper. And yf you hould it fitting to haue one lye ashoare to watch it, the master shall send one out of the shipp. I will order the purser shalbe readye to assist you, But doe desire that none of the shipp be lodged in the howse more then your Companye, except vrgent occatyon, as Sicknes etc. I haue allso apoynted that the Skiff and long boate shalbe allwayes at your Commaund.

And thus hauing had such good proofe of your discretyon as I shall not neede to put you further in Rememberance, not douting but you will obserue a frugall course in all points, I rest

J. S.

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[1] End.

[2] Miako means "capital city," as does also "Kiōto," which has now become the recognised geographical name of the old capital.

[3] Vended.

TO THE MASTER, JAMES FOSTER, viz.

Master, The tyme requyring my departure for the accomplishing of businesse with the Emperor, And hauing had Just proofe of youre honnest care hethertoo, I haue not the least doute but you will contynew the same, And in my absence so rule and Governe the Companye, with all matters in the shipp, as I shall think my selfe happie of the Choise I have made, And the Companye haue Just cause to requite your paines.

For the order of the Companye, I refer it holye to your Discretione, To punish according to there misdemenor, and to forgiue and remit as they shalbe trulye penytent. There allowance lett it be as at present vsed, and the beere out[1] no more drinkings tell my retorne, except you finde a soberer Course then vsuall. For it is but evell spent, hauing such aboundance of there one[2] in this place. Yf Jesper the swart[3] or ether of the running[4] Duchmen doe stand in Great want of aparrell, I praye confer with the purser, And finding them not indeted in his booke, vse your Discretione, And as you shall haue hope of there honnesties. But let them finger no readye monye but what you or the purser see disbursed: otherwayes you shall see too of them no more. And for Evens I praye be carefull of him, And as you see fitting ether detane or deliuer him his Goods and moneye, which for Just reasons I haue caused to be taken from him.

The purser is not to be tyed to anye howres; for his busines is Great with the Cape marchant, And providing of matters as you shall see fitting for all offices in the shipp; make no spare[5] of his Companye and Counsell, for of my life you shall finde him an honnest man, and one which wilbehaue him selfe well. I praye vizite Mr. Cocks ashoare, and lett him not want the Skiffe and long boate yf occatyone require it. Faile not to be together once a weeke, or oftner yf you please, and lasvre[6] will permit. You shall haue all the Salors which I had ashoare aboard, onlye Dayle and Fearce, whom I haue vse for. All whatsoever I haue in my cabbyn or anye other part of the shipp, I Commit to your Charge, esteeming it most sure.

I praye take a True inuentorye of the rest of victualls, And call the st[e]ward to accompt weekely, and his bill of the weekes expence keepe. Let boath the ould and young king be well vsed when they come to vizite you. And make no spare at such a tyme. Make shifte as soon as you can to keepe abraud your

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[1] When the beer is finished. [2] Own.

[3] Apparently the 'Jasper Malconty' referred to later.

[4] *Sic*, fugitive.

[5] Parsimony, frugal use; *i.e.*, have free recourse to his society and advice. [6] Leisure.

flagg; and shipps comming in or going out, or strangers coming aboard, vse your discretyon in giuing of them ordnance.

And thus not douting but you will order all matters in such fashion as the least discurtesie offered shall not passe (but with the like), nor anye kindnesse shoud [pass] vnrequited, for the Boorish behauiour in the mollocos is not to be forgotten.

And thus, as allwayes I haue beene,

your frind,

J. SA.

The ould King sent me 100 Tayes, acquanting it was the best quoyne to carrye vp with me for expences by the waye, desiring pament but in the like.

Allowance Beere and Biskett, 1 meale porke, 1 meale Rice with oyle.

The 7th [August] the Master deliuered me certane letters which he had intersepted of Evenses and one Tottye, a younker, one of the Carpenters, the said evens ashoare all night, but tottye aboard, wherein, as per the letters, Tottye desires him to haue a little forecast in there busines, and that he had prouided paper and sealing wax, with other mater more doutfull, of there pretence[1] of running awaye, as per there letters appeare. And that he purposed to sup with the Spanish pilat. And this night past, a fellony being committed in the ship by one John Tomson and Fransisco a swart, whoe had broken open a cabbin of one Collyns, and stolen awaye 1 sack pepper Contaning 62*li.* English, and after the watch [was] sett weare gone ashoare, but [being] mist, the master and purser went to the suspected places, wheare they found the said fellons and Euens (eache hauing there hores); Euens denyed to goe at present aboard, but they inforsed him and the rest. Euens in the morning [being] examoned conserning the cause of his disorder, stoode bouldlye in it that he was a man, and

[1] Intention.

would haue a woman yf he could get hir, and for what past betwene Tottye and him he said was but in the waye of curtesie, and to buy him a peece of brancht dammaske. I conferred with the Master and Mr. Cocks about this busines, whoe weare of opynyon that for certane he had compacted with the Spannish pilat, and would run awaye yf the stricter course weare not taken, and further the Master Greatlye douted his intising of a great part of the rest; wherefor, being readye to imbarke, and willing to preuent the worst, caused him to be made fast in a chane, the bilbowes by one of his crue throne ouer board, and [when] in them formerly would knock them of, and goe ashoare at his pleasure; yet left order with the Master, yf he did see anye hope of amendment in him, not onlye to lose him, but to lett him haue his commodytyes againe, sequestred in the pursers hands to preuent his Running awaye. Tottye was only reproued, being all of opynyon that without the further intisement of Evense, he would behaue him selfe well. Tomson and the Swart confest the fellony, but being younkers and sorrofull had no punnishment.

I imbarked for the Emperors court, hauing with me 10 English and 1 Japan, my Jurebassa, more Mr. Addams and his 2 men, Japanners, more a Guardyan and his 3 men, and one Japanner to carrye my pike, according to the custome of the Counterye. So that the hole number is 19 persons. I had 13 peeces at setting saile out of the shipp. Mr. Cocks and the purser went out of the roade with me, and retorned in the Skiff, by whome I sent worde to the Master that he should haue a care to lett the Companye haue what victualls in his discretyon he did thinke fitt. I allso vnderstoode by them that for a certane Richard Hounsell, the Master his mate, was a priuate stirer of the Companye to mutenye for fresh victuall, saing it was not fitt men should be fed in harbor with salte meate, yet to

my face seemeth most offityous. God deliuer me from such desembling faulse tonged people.

Allowance Beere and biskett, 1 meale fresh fishe, 1 meale oat meale with oyle.

THUS much from England to my departure from Ferando in Japan To the Emperors Courte.

[Wee were rowed through, and amongst diuers Ilands, all which, or the most part of them, were well inhabited, and diuers proper Townes built vpon them ; whereof one, called Fuccate,[1] hath a very strong Castle, built of freestone, but no Ordnance nor Souldiers therein. It hath a ditch about fiue fathome deepe, and twice as broad, round about it, with a draw bridge, kept all in very good repaire. I did land and dine there in the Towne, the tyde and wind so strong against vs as that we could not passe. The Towne seemed to be as great as London is within the wals, very wel built, and euen, so as you may see from the one end of the streete to the other. The place exceedingly peopled, very Ciuill and curteous, onely that at our landing, and beeing here in Fuccate, and so through the whole Country, whithersoeuer we came, the boyes, children, and worser sort of idle people, would gather about and follow along after vs, crying, Coré, Coré, Cocoré, Waré,[2] that is to say, You Coréans with false hearts: wondering, hooping, hollowing and making such a noise about vs, that we could scarcely heare one an other speake, sometimes throwing stones at vs (but that not in many Townes) yet the clamour and crying after vs was euerywhere alike, none reproouing them for it. The best aduice that I can giue those who hereafter shall arriue there, is that they passe on without regarding those idle rablements, and in

[1] Hakata.

[2] Core, interpreted by Saris to mean "Corean." *Kokoro warui* is good Japanese for "bad-hearted."

so doing, they shall find their eares onely troubled with the noise.

All alongst this Coast, and so vp to Ozaca, we found women diuers, that liued with their houshold and family in boats vpon the water, as in Holland they do the like. These women would catch fish by diuing, which by net and lines they missed, and that in eight fathome depth: their eyes by continuall diuing doe grow as red as blood, whereby you may know a diuing woman from all other women.

We were two daies rowing from Firando to Fuccate. About eight or tenne leagues on this side the straights of Xemina-seque,[1] we found a great Towne, where there lay in a Docke a Iuncke of eight hundred or a thousand Tunnes of burthen, sheathed all with yron, with a guard appointed to keep her from firing and treachery. She was built in a very homely fashion, much like that which describeth Noahs Ark vnto vs. The Naturals told vs that she serued to transport souldiers into any of the Ilands, if rebellion or warre should happen.

We found nothing extraordinary after we had passed the straights of Xemina-seque, vntill we came vnto Osaca, where we arriued the twenty seuenth day of August. Our Galley could not come neere the Towne by sixe miles, where another smaller Vessell met vs, wherein came the good man or Host of the house where we lay in Osaca, and brought a banquet with him of wine and salt fruits to intertaine me. The boat hauing a fast made to the mast-head, was drawn by men, as our Barkes are from London Westward.

We found Osaca to be a very great Towne, as great as London within the walls, with many faire Timber bridges of a great height, seruing to passe ouer a riuer there as

[1] Shimonoseki.

wide as the Thames at London. Some faire houses we found there, but not many. It is one of the chiefe Sea-ports of all Iapan; hauing a Castle in it, maruellous large and strong, with very deepe trenches about it, and many draw bridges, with gates plated with yron. The Castle is built all of Free-stone, with Bulwarks and Battlements, with loope holes for smal shot and arrowes, and diuers passages for to cast stones vpon the assaylants. The walls are at the least sixe or seuen yards thicke, all (as I said) of Free-stone, without any filling in the inward part with trumpery, as they reported vnto me. The stones are great, of an excellent quarry, and are cut so exactly to fit the place where they are laid, that no morter is vsed, but onely earth cast betweene to fill vp voyd creuises if any be. In this Castle did dwell at our beeing there, the sonne of Tiquasamma,[1] who being an infant at the time of his Fathers decease, was left to the gouernement and education of foure, whereof Ogoshosamma, the now Emperour, was one and chiefe. The other three, desirous of Soueraigntie each for his particular, and repulsed by Ogoshosamma, were for their owne safetie forced to take vp Armes, wherein fortune fauouring Ogoshosamma at the triall in field, two of them beeing slaine, the third was glad to saue himselfe by flight. He beeing Conqueror, attempted that which formerly (as it is thought) hee neuer dream'd of, and proclaimed himselfe Emperour, and seazing vpon the true heire, married him vnto his daughter,[2] as the onely meanes to work a perfect reconcilement, confining the young married couple to liue within this Castle of Osaca, attended onely with such as had been brought vp from their cradles by Ogoshosamma, not knowing any other

[1] Tai kô sama. The son is Hideyori.

[2] It was a grand-daughter, not a daughter, of Iyeyasu, that was married to Hideyori, he being then just ten years old, and she six only.

Father (as it were) then him : So that by their intelligence he could at all times vnderstand what passed there, and accordingly rule him.

Right ouer against Osaca, on the other side of the Riuer, lyeth another great Towne called Sacay,[1] but not so bigge as Osaca, yet it is a Towne of great Trade for all the Ilands thereabout.

The eight and twentieth day at night, hauing left musters and prices of our Commodities with our Host,[2] we parted from Osaca by Barke towards Fushimi, where we arriued the nine and twentieth at night.

We found here a Garrison of three thousand Souldiers maintayned by the Emperour, to keepe Miaco and Osaca in subiection. The Garrison is shifted euery three yeares, which change happened to be at our being there, so that we saw the old Bands march away, and the new enter, in most Souldier-like manner, marching fiue abrest, and to euery ten files an Officer which is called a Captaine of fiftie, who kept them continually in verie good order. First, their shot, viz. Calieuers[3] (for Muskets they haue none, neyther will they vse any) ; then followed Pikes, next Swords, or Cattans and Targets,[4] then Bowes and Arrowes ; next those weapons resembling a Welch-hooke called Waggadashes ;[5]

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[1] Sakai is a seaport town, about 6 miles from Ōsaka to the south, on the Yamato-gawa river. Saris is evidently speaking from hearsay when he says it lies on the other side of the river, meaning that which runs through Ōsaka.

[2] It seems to have been the practice of the English factors in Japan to select in each place they frequented a native "host," who not only provided them with lodgings when they paid a visit, but in their absence took care of and sold their commodities.

[3] More correctly, caliver, a light kind of musket or harquebus, originally, it appears, of a certain calibre (whence the name) ; it seems to have been the lightest portable firearm, excepting the pistol, and to have been fired without a rest (*A New English Dictionary*, *s.v.*)

[4] Shields.

[5] *Wakizashi*, the name of the short sword, or large dagger, worn in the belt along with the *katana*, or sword properly so-called.

then Calieuers againe, and so as formerly, without any Ensigne or Colours: neyther had they any Drummes or other musicall Intruments for Warre. The first file of the Cattans and Targets had siluer scabberds to their Cattans, and the last file which was next to the Captaine had their scabberds of gold. The Companies consisted of diuers numbers, some fiue hundred, some three hundred, some one hundred and fiftie men. In the midst of euery Companie were three Horses very richly trapped, and furnished with Sadles, well set out, some couered with costly Furres, some with Veluet, some with Stammet broad-cloth; euery Horse had three slaues to attend him, ledde with silken halters, their eyes couered with lether couers. After euery Troope followed the Captaine on Horse-backe; his bed and other necessaries were laid vpon his owne Horse, equally peased[1] on either side; ouer the same was spread a couering of redde felt of China, whereupon the Captaine did sit crosse-legged, as if hee had sate betwixt a a couple of panniers: and for those that were ancient or otherwise weake-backt, they had a staffe artificially fixed vnto the Pannel, that the Rider might rest himselfe, and leane backward against it, as if he were sitting in a chaire. The Captaine Generall of this Garrison wee met two dayes after we had met his first troop (hauing still in the meane-time met with some of these Companies as we passed along, sometimes one league, sometimes two leagues distant one from another). Hee marched in very great state, beyond that the others did (for the second Troope was more richly set out in their armes then the first, and the third then the second, and so still euery one better then other, vntill it came unto this the last and best of all). He hunted and hawked all the way, hauing his owne Hounds and Hawkes along with him, the Hawkes being

[1] Poised.

hooded and lured as ours are. His Horses for his owne Sadle being sixe in number, richly trapped. Their Horses are not tall, but of the size of our midling Nags, short and well trust,[1] small headed and very full of mettle, in my opinion farre excelling the Spanish Iennet in pride and stomacke. He had his Pallankin carried before him, the inside of Crimson Veluet, and sixe men appointed to carrie it, two at a time.

Such good order was taken for the passing and prouiding for, of these three thousand Souldiers, that no man either trauelling or inhabiting vpon the way where they lodged, was any way iniured by them, but cheerefully entertayned them as other their guests, because they paid for what they tooke, as all other men did. Euery Towne and Village vpon the way being well fitted with Cookes and Victualling houses, where they might at an instant haue what they needed; and dyet themselues from a pennie English a meale to two shillings a meale.

The dyet vsed generally through the Countrey is Rice of diuers sorts, one better then other (as our Wheate and Corne here), the whitest accounted the best, which they vse in stead of Bread: Fish, fresh and salted; some pickeld Herbes, Beanes, Raddishes and other Roots salted and pickled; Wild-fowle, Ducke, Mallard, Teale, Geese, Phesant, Partridge, Quaile, and diuers others, which they doe powder and put vp in pickle. Of Hens they haue great store, as likewise of Deere both red and fallow: wild Bores, Hares, Goates, Kine, etc. Of Cheese[2] they haue plentie. Butter they make none, neither will they eate any Milke, because they hold it to bee as bloud, nor tame beasts.

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[1] Trussed; cp. Robert Greene's *Art of Conny Catching*, 1592, "the horse was . . . . well buttokt and strongly trussed" (perhaps means well ribbed up).

[2] This must be a mistake of Saris. Perhaps he mistook bean-curd (*tōfu*) for cheese, which is not known to have at any time formed part of the diet of the Japanese.

Of tame Swine and Pigs they haue great abundance. Wheate they haue as good as any of ours, being red. They plow both with Oxen and Horse as wee doe heere. At our being there, we bought Hens and Phesants of the best for three pence a piece. Pigs very fat and large twelue pence a piece, a fat Hogge fiue shillings. A good Beefe, such as our Welch Runts,[1] at sixteene shillings, a Goate[2] three shillings, Rice a halfe-pennie the pound. The ordinarie drinke of the common people is water, which with their meate they drinke warme, holding it to bee a souereigne remedie against Wormes in the maw: other drinkes they haue none, but what is distilled[3] out of Rice, which is almost as strong as our Aquauitae, and in colour like to Canarie Wine, and is not deare. Yet when they haue drawne off the best and strongest, they wring out of it a smaller and slighter drinke, seruing the poorer sort of people, which through want cannot reach to the better.

The thirtieth [August] we were furnished with ninetene Horse at the Emperours charge, to carrie vp our Kings presents, and those that attended me to Surunga.

I had a Pallankin appointed for me, and a spare Horse led by, to ride when I pleased, very well set out. Sixe men appointed to carrie my Pallankin in plaine and euen ground. But where the Countrey grew hilly, ten men were allowed me thereto. The Guardian whom King Foyn sent along with vs, did from time to time and place to place by warrant take vp these men and Horses to serue our turnes, as the Post-masters doe here in England: as also lodging at night. According to the custome of

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[1] Runt, a young ox or cow; any undersized animal (*Century Dict.*).

[2] The mention of goats is remarkable. This is an animal now scarcely known in Japan, and we suspect a mistake on the part of Saris.

[3] This is evidently the drink called *Sake*, which is not distilled, but is a strong rice-beer.

the Countrey, I had a slaue appointed to runne with a pike before me.

Thus we trauelled vntill the sixth of September, before we got to Surunga, each day fifteene or sixteene leagues[1] of three miles to a league as we ghessed it. The way for the most part is wonderfull euen, and where it meeteth with Mountains passage is cut through. This way is the mayne Roade of all this Countrey, and is for the most part sandie and grauell: it is diuided into leagues, and at euery leagues end are two small hills, viz. of either side of the way one, and vpon euery one of them a faire Pine-tree trimmed round in fashion of an Arbor. These markes are placed vpon the way to the end, that the Hacknie men, and those which let out Horses to hire, should not make men pay more then their due, which is about three pence a league. The Roade is exceedingly trauelled, full of people. Euer and anon you meet with Farmes and Countrey houses, with Villages, and often with great Townes, with Ferries ouer fresh Riuers, and many Futtakeasse[2] or Fotoquis, which are their Temples, scituate in Groues and most pleasantest places for delight of the whole Countrey. The Priests that tend thereupon dwelling about the same, as our Friers in old time planted themselues here in England.

When wee approched any Towne, we saw Crosses with the dead bodies of those who had been crucified thereupon; for crucifying is heere an ordinarie punishment for most Malefactors. Comming neere Surunga, where the Emperours Court is, wee saw a Scaffold with the heads of diuers (which had been executed) placed thereupon, and by were diuers Crosses with the dead Corpses of those which had been executed remayning still vpon them, and the pieces of

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[1] League here seems to be the Japanese *ri*, equal to 2.45 miles.

[2] *Hotoke* is the popular name for a Buddhist deity, not for the temples dedicated to them.

others, which after their Executions had been hewen againe and againe by the triall of others Cattans. All which caused a most vnsauourie passage to vs, that to enter into Surunga must needs passe by them. This Citie of Surunga is full as bigge as London, with all the Suburbs. The Handi-crafts men wee found dwelling in the outward parts and skirts of the Towne, because those that are of the better sort dwell in the inward part of the Citie, and will not be annoyed with the rapping, knocking, and other disturbance that Artificers cannot be without.]

The 6th [September] we ariued at Sorongo in the morning verye yearlye.

[As soone as we were settled in our lodging in Surunga, I sent Master Adams to the Court, to let the Secretarie vnderstand of my coming, and desire of as speedie dispatch as might bee. Word was returned that I was welcome, that I should rest me, and within a day or two I should haue accesse to the Emperour.

The seuenth was spent in fitting vp of the presents, and prouiding little Tables of slit deale of that Countrey (which smelleth verie sweet) to carrie them upon, according to the custome.]

The 8th [September] I deliuered the Emperour the King of Englans letter and his present, Allso a present from my selfe of my one Goods, being (as Mr. Addams said) the fashion of the Counterye; the particulers weare, viz. 1 Faire large sattin Quilt, 1 faire silke Carpett, 1 shash, 2 peeces Orring Tawnye stuffs, 4*li.* Allowayes socotryna, 3 very faire holland napkins, very curyouslye wrought.

[I was carryed in my Pallankin to the Castle of Surunga (where the Emperour kept his Court) and was attended with my Merchants and others carrying the presents before me. Being entred the Castle, I passed three draw bridges, euery of which had a corps of Guard, and comming vp a paire of verie faire and large stone staires, I was met by

two graue comely men, the one [of] them Codske dona,[1] the Emperours Secretarie, the other Fungo dono,[2] the Admirall, who led me into a faire roome matted, where we sat downe crosse-legged vpon the Mats. Anon after they lead mee betwixt them into the Chamber of Presence, where was the Emperours Chaire of State, to which they wished me to doe reuerence. It was of cloth of Gold, about fiue foot high, very richly set forth for backe and sides, but had no Canopie ouer-head. Then they returned backe againe to the place where before they did sit, where hauing stayed about one quarter of an houre, word was brought that the Emperour was come forth. Then they rose vp and led me betwixt them vnto the doore of the roome where the Emperour was, making signs to me that I should enter in there, but durst not look in themselues. The presents sent from our King to the Emperour, as also those which (according to the custome of the Countrey) I gaue vnto the Emperour, as from my selfe, were placed in the said roome vpon the Mats very orderly, before the Emperour came into it. Comming to the Emperour, according to our English Complements, I deliuered our Kings Letter vnto his Maiestie, who tooke it in his hand, and put it vp towards his fore-head, and cõmanded his Interpreter, who sate a good distance from him behind, to will Master Adams to tell me that I was welcome from a wearisome iourney, that I should take my rest for a day or two, and then his Answere should be readie for our King. Then he asked whether I did not intend to visit his sonne at Edoo.[3] I answered, I did. The Emperour said that order should be taken to furnish mee with men and Horses for the Iourney, and against my returne his Letters should be

[1] See p. 114.

[2] The same person as Fongo dono, mentioned on p. 115.

[3] Since 1868 called Tōkiō, or Eastern Capital. Usually written Yedo ; also Jeddo, which is the Dutch spelling.

readie for our King. So taking my leaue of the Emperour, and comming to the doore where I had left the Secretarie and Admirall, I found them there readie to conduct me to the staires head where formerly they had met mee, and there I tooke my Pallankin, and with my Attendants returned to my lodging.]

The 9th [September] deliuered the secretarye his present,[1] which was retorned, saying it ware as much as his life weare worth yf he should take anye thing, the Emperour hauing forbidden him, yet he accepted of 5*li.* Allowayes Socotryna. I deliuered him the Articles or demaundes to to be granted by the Emperour [being in number fourteen],[2] which he desired might be abreuiated [and made as short as might bee, for that the people of Japan affect breuitie].

The 10th [September] the Articles abreuiated, I sent them by Mr. Addams to the secrytarye, which weare deliuered the Emperor, whoe liked well thereof [denying[3] one only, which was, That whereas the Chineses had refused to trade with the English, that in case we should now take any of them by force, that our Nation might haue leaue and libertie to bring them into Iapan, and there make sale of the goods so taken. At the first motion, the Emperour answered, that seeing they denyed vs Trade, we might take them. But vpon conference with the Lieger[4] of China, the Emperours minde was changed, and would not allow of that Article. The rest were passed vnder his great Seale, which is not of Waxe (as ours) but stamped like a print and coloured red.]

The 11th [September] I deliuered the mint master his present [which he took thankfully, and returned to me two Iaponian Gownes of Taffata, quilted with silk Cotton.]

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[1] See p. 114.

[2] Added from Purchas.

[3] Refusing.

[4] Ambassador: see *Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe*, vol. ii, p. 354.

The 12th [September] I sent Mr. Addams to the mint master [(being the Emperours Merchant, and hauing charge of his Mint and readie monies, a man of very great esteeme with the Emperour, and one that hath vowed that whensoeuer the Emperour shall dye, he will cut out his own guts and dye with him)] with a particuler of our Commodytyes and the prises thereof to be deliuered to the Emperor, viz.

Tynne, the peecull	- - -	030 Tayes
Olliuants Teeth, the peecull	- - -	080 „
Ordnance, the peecull	- - -	006 „
Powder, the peecull	- - -	023 „
Allawayes, the Cattye	- - -	006 „
Fouling peeces, the peece	- - -	020 „

Braud cloath, Callico and kersies, as they weare in Goodnesse.

And towards nowne departed for Edo to the young kings Courte, the Emperor furnishing me with 19 hors and 6 men for my pallankeene, which weare changed at everye 6 mile or 10 mile, as we shifted horses, and yf it weare anye hills in the waye 10 men to the pallankeene.

[The Countrey betwixt Surunga and Edoo is well inhabited. We saw many Fotoquise or Temples as we passed, and amongst others one Image of especiall note, called Dabis,[1] made of Copper, being hollow within, but of a very substantiall thicknesse. It was in height, as wee ghessed, from the ground about one and twentie or two and twentie foot, in the likenesse of a man kneeling vpon the ground, with his buttockes resting on his heeles, his armes of wonderfull largenesse, and the whole body proportionable. He is fashioned wearing of a Gowne. This Image is much reuerenced by Trauellers as they passe there. Some of our people went into the bodie of it, and hoope and hallowed,

[1] Daibutsu, or Big Buddha. The height of this celebrated image is nearly 50 ft.

which made an exceeding great noyse. We found many Characters and Markes made vpon it by Passengers, whom some of my Followers imitated, and made theirs in like manner. It standeth in the maine Roade of the Pilgrimage to Tencheday,[1] which is much frequented: for night and day, rich and poore, are comming and going to visit Tencheday. M. Adams told me that he had beene at the Fotoqui or Temple dedicated to this Tencheday, to whom they make this deuout pilgrimage; and, as he reported, there is monthly one of the fairest Virgins of the whole countrey brought into that Fotoqui, and there she sits all in a roome neatly kept, in a very sober manner, and at certaine times, this Tencheday (which is thought to be the Diuell) appeareth vnto her, and hauing knowne her carnally, leaueth with her at his departure certaine skales, like vnto the skales of fishes: what questions shee is willed by the Bonzees, or Priests of that Fotoqui to aske, Tencheday resolues: and euery moneth a fresh Virgin is taken in; but what becomes of the old, Master Adams himselfe did not know.]

The fourteenth [September] I arriued at Edo [a Citie much greater than Surunga, farre fairer building, and made a very glorious appearance vnto vs; the ridge-tiles and corner-tiles richly gilded, the posts of their doores gilded and varnished: Glasse windowes they haue none, but great windowes of board, opening in leaues, well set out with painting, as in Holland. There is a Cawsey which goeth thorow the chiefe streete of the Towne; vnderneath this Cawsey runneth a Riuer; at euery fiftie paces there is a Well-head, fitted very substantially of free-stone, with buckets for the neighbours to fetch water, and for danger

[1] Probably Tenshōdaijin, the Sun-goddess, whose chief temple is at Yamada, in the province of Ise, to which the Japanese people have always gone on pilgrimage in great numbers. Even Kaempfer speaks of Tenshōdaijin as a masculine deity.

of fire. This streete is as broad as any of our streets in England.

The fifteenth [September] I gaue the Kings Secretary, Sadda-dona, to vnderstand of my arriuall, requesting him him to let the King know thereof.]

The 17th [September] I deliuered the King his present, And another from my selfe, viz. 1 verye faire Turkey Carpett, 1 shash, 1 peece Tapseele and 1 peece white Byramme.

[The King kept his Court in the Castle of Edoo, which is much fairer and stronger than that of Surunga. Hee was better guarded and attended vpon then the Emperour his Father. Sadda-dona, the Kings Secretary, is father to Codske-dona, the Emperours Secretary,[1] whose yeeres affoording better experience hee is therefore appointed to haue the gouernment and direction of the yong King, who (at our being there) we esteemed to be aged about two and fortie yeeres.[2]

My entertainment and accesse to the King heere was much like to the former at Surunga with the Emperour. He accepted very kindly our Kings Letters and Presents, bidding me welcome, and wishing me to refresh my selfe, and his Letters and Presents to our King should be made readie with all speed.]

The 19th [September] I deliuered the secrytarye his present. [This day two and thirtie men being commanded to a certaine house for not paying their debts, and being in the stockes within the house, the house in the night time by casualtie fiered, and they were all burnt to death.] And towards evening the King sent 2 varnished Armors, a present to his Majesty the King of England, Allso a Tatch[3] [or long sword, (which none weare there but souldiers of the best ranke)] and a wagadash a present from him to

[1] Cp. p. 114. [2] He was born in 1579. [3] Tachi.

my selfe. [From Edoo to the Northermost part of Iapan, it is esteemed two and twentie dayes iourney by horse, little more or lesse.]

The 21th [September] I tooke boate from Edo to Oring Gaue[1] To pervse the harbor and to haue barganed with Mr. Addams for the hull of a shipp which was the spanyards; allso to looke vpone certane wares of Meaco, which he had there of the Spanyards to sell, wheareof we bought for the Companye, viz. 1 Case of Trunkes, two greate Scritoryes,[2] Eight Beobs,[3] two smalle scritoryes and a Trimming box. The shipp he asked 100*li.* for, and would abate nothing thereof, which to our Judgements was verye deare.

The 22. 23. and 24th [September] we remaned at Oringgaw. It was thought fitting, and was bestowed vpon Mistris Addams[4] for a present, in regard to hir husbands kindnes, these parcells, viz.

one siluer and Gilt Cup, poiz. 6 oz., at 7*s.* per oz. - - - -	rials	010 . 2
1 peece of Bafta of 10 rials per corge -	rials	000 . 2
1 peece of Byrames at 15 rials per Corge -	rials	001 . 2
	rials	012 . 2

More to Mr. Addams his wyfes sister and there mother, viz.

1 peece Bafta of 10 rials per Corge -	rials	000 . 2
1 peece Byramme of 15 rials per Corge -	rials	000 . 3
2 peeces Redd Sellas at 10 rials per Corge -	rials	001 . —
	rials	02 . ½

[1] Uraga, a small harbour just outside the entrance to the Bay of Yedo (Tōkio).

[2] Escritoires, or writing-desks, possibly from the Port. *escritorio.* A printed list of lacquered goods imported by the East India Company in 1700 includes a number of "escretors."

[3] *Biōbu*, or folding screen. The Spanish language has adopted this word in the form *Biombo.*

[4] Adams' native wife.

The 25th [September] I departed from Oronggaw for Sorongo.

The 29th [September] we ariued at Sorongo back from Edo.

[Note that Oringgaw is a very good harbour for shipping, where ships may ride as safely as in the Riuer of Thames before London, and the passage thereto by Sea very safe and good: so that it will be much better for our shipps to saile thither then to Firando, in respect that Oringgaw is vpon the maine Island, and is distant from Edoo (the chiefe Citie) but fourteene or fifteene leagues. The place is not so well replenished with victuall and fleshmeat as Firando is, which want only excepted, Oringgaw is for all other matters to be preferred before Firando.

At my returne to Surunga, I found a Spanish Embassadour arriued there from the Philippinas, who only had sight of the Emperour, and deliuered him his presents, which were certaine China Damaskes, and fiue Iarres of sweet wine of Europe. After the first time, he could not obtaine accesse to the Emperour. His Embassage was, that such Portugals and Spaniards as were within his Dominions, not authorized by the King of Spaine, might be deliuered vp vnto him to carry away to the Philippinas: which the Emperour denyed to doe, saying, That his Countrey was a free Country, and none should be forced out of it; but if the Embassadour could perswade any to go, they should not be staied. This comming of the Spanish Embassadour for men, was caused by the great want of men they had to defend the Molucca Ilands from the Dutch, who then made great preparation for the absolute conquest thereof. After that the Embassadour had attended for the Emperours answere the time limitted him by his Commission, seeing it came not, hee departed discontented. But being at the Sea-side, there was an answere returned

THE SHOGUN HIDETADA.

for him to carry, with a slender Present, viz. fiue Iapan Gownes, and two Cattans or Swords.]

October, 1613. The 8th the Secrytarye sent me the Emperors letter to the king of England, acquanting me that there was mentyon of 10 Beobes for a present in another paper by itselfe, which should be deliuered me at Meacko. Mr. Addams procured the letter to be translated, the Coppye wheareof followeth :

TO THE KING OF GREAT BRITTONE.

Your Majestys kinde letter sent me by your seruant, Captain John Saris, which is the first that I haue knowne to ariue in anye part of my dominyons, I heartelye imbrace, Beeing not a little glad to heare of your great wisdome and power, hauing 3 mightye and plentyfull kingdomes vnder your worthie Commaund, Acknoledging your Majestys Great bountye in sending me so vndeserved a present of manye rare things such as my land affoardeth not, nether haue I before tyme seene. The which I Receave, not as from a stranger, but from your Maiestie, whome I esteeme as myselfe, desiring the Continuance of Frindshipp with your highnes, And that it may stand with your good liking To send your subjects to anye part or porte of my dominyons, wheare they shalbe most heartelye welcome; Applauding much there worthines in the Admirable knoledge of navigatyon, hauing with much facellytye discouered so remote a place, being no whit amased with the distance of so mightie a Gulfe, nor Greatnes of such infinite cloudes and stormes, from prosecuting honnorable enterprises of discoueryes And marchandising, in which they shall finde me to further them according to there desires.

I retorne your Majestie a smale Token of my loue by your said subiect, desiring you to accept thereof, as from him which reioyseth much in your frindshipp.

And whereas your Majestys Subiects haue desired certane priualeges for Trade and settling of a factorye in my Dominyons, I haue not only granted to what they demaunded, But haue giuen it vnder my braud seale For the better performance thereof. From my castell in Sorongo this 4 daye of the 9 moneth, and in the 18th yeare of our Darye[1] according to our Computacion. Resting your Majesties Frind, hiest Commander in this kingdome of Japan.

MINNA MONTTONO, yei. ye. yeas.[2]

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[1] Dairi, a synonym for Emperor. The date is the 18th year of the chronological period *Keichō* = 1613.

[2] Or as it would now be written, Minamoto no Iyeyasu.

I allso Receiued the Emperors priualeges for Trade in Japan, the Translation wheareof Followeth, viz.

The Coppie verbatim of the Emperor of Japan his priuelages, Granted in the name of the Right honnored Knight Sir Thomas Smith, Governor of the East Indya Companye, for the vse of the 8th voyage And obteyned by me, John Saris, viz.

Inprimis, We giue free lycence to the king of Englands svbiects, Sir Thomas Smith, Governor and Companye of the east Indya marchants, for ever safelye to come into anye our portes or Empire of Japan with there shippes and marchandies, without anye hinderance to them or there Goods; And to abide, buy, sell and Barter, according to there one mannor, with all natyons; And to Tarrye so long as they will, And depart at there pleasvres.

Item, We Grant vnto them free Custome of all such marchandies as they haue or hereafter shall bring into our kingdom, or shall Transport to anye forrane part, And doe by these presents authorise The heareafter shipps To make present saile of there Commodyties, without further Comming or sending up to our Courte.

Item, yf there shippes shalbe in danger to be lost and perish, Wee will that our Svbiects not onlye assist them, But what shalbe saued To retorne it to the Captane marchant or there assignes And that they shall build in anye part of our Empire wheare they thinke fittest, And at departure to make free saile of there howse or howses at there pleasure.

Item, yf anye of them shall die in these our Domynyons, the Goods of the deceased shalbe at the dispose of the Cape marchant. And that all offences Committed by them shalbe at the said marchants discretione to punnish. And our lawes to take no hould either of there persons or Goods.

Item, we will that yee our svbiects, Trading with them for anye there Commodities, paye them according to agreement without delaye or retorne of there wares.

Item, All such there merchandies, which at present or heareafter shalbe brought, meete for owr seruice, Wee will that no arest be made thereof, But that present pament be made according to agreement And at such prisies as the Cape marchant can att present sell them for.

Item, we will that [if] in discouerye of anye other places of Trade or retorne of there shippes, They shall haue neede of men or victualls, That yee our subiects furnish them for there monye as there neede shall require, And that without our further passe They shall sett out and Goe in discouerye for Yeadzo, or anye other part in or aboute our Empire.

From our Castell in Sorongo, This first daye of the 9th moneth

and in the 18th yeare of our Darye According to our Computacion. Sealed with our braude Seale &c.

MINNA MOTTONE, yei. ye. yeas.

The 9th [October] we departed from Sorongo.

[About a month before my coming thither the Emperor, being displeased with the Christians, made proclamation that they should forthwith remoue and carry away all their Churches to Langasacque, a Towne situate on the Sea-side, and distant from Firando about eight leagues: And that no Christian Church should stand, nor Masse be sung, within ten leagues of his Court, vpon paine of death. A while after, certaine of the Naturalls, being seuen and twentie in number (men of good fashion), were assembled together in an Hospitall, appointed by the Christians for Lepers, and there had a Masse: whereof the Emperour being informed, commanded them to be shut vp in an house for one night, and that the next day they should suffer death. The same euening another man for debt was clapt vp in the same house, being an Heathen at his comming in, and ignorant of Christ and his Religion: But (which is wonderfull) the next morning, when the Officer called at the doore for those which were Christians to come forth, and goe to execution, and those which were not, and did renounce the same, to stay behind: this man in that nights space was so instructed by the other, that resolutely he came out with the rest, and was crucified with them.][1]

[1] According to Bartoli (*Il Giappone*, p. 676) the order to pull down the churches was given in 1612. Padre Viera, in a letter dated Nagasaki, March 16th, 1613, says that Hidetada had banished the Franciscans from Yedo the previous year, and ordered the little church they had to be pulled down. The order to remove the churches was not so extensive as the text suggests, for the Jesuits were allowed to remain in possession of theirs at Kiōto (which in fact Saris, a little further, speaks of having visited), though they had to give up their house there (Bartoli, *l. c.*). But Father Luis Sotelo, a well-known Franciscan, had built himself a little chapel at Asakusa, where he celebrated mass for a small number of Christians. These were arrested, eight of them were beheaded August 16th, 1613, and on the

The 16th [October] I came to Meacko, wheare I remaned for the Emperors present to the King of England till the 19th dicto.

[In our passage towards Miaco from Surunga, we had for the most part much raine, whereby the waters did so rise, that we were forced to stay by the way, so that it was the sixteenth of October before we got thither.

Miaco is the greatest Citie of Iapan, consisting most vpon merchandizing. The chiefe Fotoqui or Temple of the whole countrey is there, being built of freestone, and is as long as the Westerne end of Saint Pauls in London, from the Quier, being as high arched and borne vpon pillars as that is: where many Bonzees[1] doe attend for their maintenance, as the priests among Papists. There is an Altar whereon they doe offer Rice and small money, called Cundryns[2] (whereof twentie make one shilling English) which is employed for the vse of the Bonzees. Neare vnto this Altar there is an Idoll, by the Natiues called Mannada,[3] made of Copper, much resembling that of Dabis formerly spoken of, but is much higher, for it reacheth vp to the very Arch. This Fotoqui was begun to be built by Taicosania[4] in his lifetime, and since his sonne hath proceeded to the finishing thereof, which was newly made an end of when wee were there. Within the inclosure of the walls of this Fotoqui there are buried (by the report of

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following day fourteen more suffered the same fate (Letter of Bishop Cerqueira, Nagasaki, October 6th, 1613). The same letter speaks of six others, of whom one died in prison, the remaining five being executed. This makes the twenty-seven, as stated by Saris. The Bishop also says that one of these six was a heathen, who was baptized in the prison, and was beheaded along with the rest.

[1] The western pronunciation of *bōzu* = monk or priest, also applied to persons of other professions, *e.g.*, doctors, who used to shave their heads.

[2] Candareens, *i.e.* the small copper coin usually called "cash."

[3] Apparently a mistake or misprint for Amida.

[4] Hideyoshi, popularly known as Taikō sama.

the inhabitants) the Eares and Noses of three thousand Coreans, which were massacred at one time. Vpon their graue is a mount raised, with a Pyramis on the toppe thereof; which mount is greene, and very neatly kept. The horse that Taicosania last rode on, is kept neare vnto this Fotoqui, hauing neuer been ridden since, his hooffes being extraordinarily growne with his age, and still standing there.

The Fotoqui standeth vpon the top of an high hill, and on either side, as yee mount vp to it, hath fiftie pillars of free-stone, distant ten paces one from the other, and on euery pillar a Lanterne, wherein euery night lights are maintained of Lampe-oyle. In this Citie of Miaco, the Portugall Iesuits haue a very stately Colledge, wherein likewise are diuers Iesuits, Naturall Iaponians, which preach, and haue the new Testament[1] printed in the Iapan language. In this Colledge are many Iaponian children trayned vp, and instructed in the rudiments of Christian Religion, according to the Romish Church. There are not lesse than fiue or sixe thousand Iaponians in this Citie of Miaco professing Christ.

Besides the Fotoqui before described, there are many other Fotoquis in this Citie. The Tradesmen and Artificers are distributed by themselues, euery Occupation and Trade in their seuerall streets, and not mingled together, as heere with vs.

At Miaco we stayed, expecting the Emperours Present, which at length was deliuered to me out of the Castle, being ten Beobs, or large Pictures to hang a chamber with.]

The 20th [October] we departed from meacco And came at night to Fusheme. The 21th about noone ariued at Ozacka.

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[1] This seems to be a mistake. The Jesuit letters mention many religious books translated into Japanese, but not any portion of the Bible.

[Heere wee found the people very rude, following vs, crying, Tosin, Tosin,[1] that is, Chinaes, Chinaes; others calling vs Coré, Coré, and flinging stones at vs; the grauest people of the Towne not once reprouing them, but rather animating of them, and setting them on.]

The 24th [October] at night we all imbarked for Ferando. The Kings Gallye ever since she landed me heare hauing stayed for me at the King of Ferandos charge.

November, 1613. The 6th I ariued at Ferando about 10 of the clock in the morning, and had 7 peeces ordnance at entring aboard, and 5 peeces at going ashoare to the English howse, Mr. Addams and his Brother in lawe in companye with me.

[All this while our people sold little, the custome of the Countrey being that without expresse permission from the Emperour, no stranger may offer goods to sale. Besides, our chiefest commoditie intended for those parts being Broad-cloth (which, according to former intelligence, had lately been sold there at fortie Rialls of eight the matte, which is two yards, as aforesaid) the Natiues were now more backward to buy then before, because they saw that we our selues were no forwarder in wearing the thing which wee recommended vnto them. For, said they, you commend your Cloath vnto vs, but you your selues weare least thereof, the better sort of you wearing Silken garments, the meaner Fustians, etc. Wherefore hoping that good counsell may (though late) come to some good purpose, I wish that our Nation would be more forward to vse and spend this naturall commoditie of our owne Countrey; so shall wee better encourage and allure others to the entertainment and expence thereof.][2]

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[1] Tōjin, literally Chinaman. This cry may still be heard. *Coré* seems to be Kōrai, Corea (cp. p. 121).

[2] Here we break off Saris's narrative for a while, to follow the course of events in Hirado during his absence.

Relation of Master RICHARD COCKES, *Cape Merchant, Of what past in the Generals absence going to the Emperours Court.*[1]

The seuenth of August, all things being in a readinesse, our Generall, in company of Master Adams, departed from Firando towards the Emperours Court of Iapan, and tooke with him Master Tempest Peacocke, Master Richard Wickham, Edward Saris, Walter Carwarden, Diego Fernandos, Iohn Williams a Taylor, Iohn Head a Cooke, Edward Bartan the Chirurgions Mate, Iohn Iapan Iurebasso, Richard Dale, Cox Swaine, and Anthonie Ferre a Sayler, with a Caualeere of the Kings for Guardian and two of his Seruants, and two Seruants of M. Adams. And so they departed in a Barke or Barge of the Kings, which rowed with some twentie Oares on a side, and had thirteene Peeces of Ordnance shot off at departure.

I went to complement with the two Kings (as being sent from the Generall), to giue them thankes for prouiding so well for him for his Iourney; they tooke it kindly. And I verily thinke the old King tooke notice of some of our mens euill behauiour this last night. For he willed me to put the Master in minde to looke well to them aboord, and that I should haue a care on shoare, that matters might be as well managed in the Generals absence as when hee was heere present; otherwise, the shame would bee ours, but the dishonour his. Wind a stiffe gale at North-east most part of the day, but calme all night.

The ninth [August] a Iapan Boy, called Iuan, came and offered me his seruice, hee speaking good Spanish, asking me nothing but what I pleased, and so to serue nine or ten yeares, and to goe with me for England, if I pleased. I entertayned him, the rather because I did find the Iuri-

[1] From *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. i, pp. 395-405.

basso Migell, which Master Adams left with me, to bee something stubborne, and loued to runne abroad at his pleasure, leauing mee without any one that could speake a word. I bought him two Iapan Garments cost me fourteen Mas. Hee is a Christian and most of his Kinred dwell at Langasaque: only one dwelleth heere, who came with him and passed his word for him. Hee serued a Spaniard three yeares at Manilias.

The thirteenth [August] I shewed our commodities to certaine Merchants of Maioco,[1] but they bought nothing, only their chiefe desire was to haue had Gun-powder. Semidone[2] went aboord the ship to accompany certaine strange Caualeroes, and afterward hee brought them to see the English House. I gaue them the best entertaynment I could.

The nineteenth [August] at night, began the great Feast of the Pagans, they inuiting their dead kindred, banquetting and making merry all night with candle-light at their graues: this Feast endured three dayes, and as many nights. And very strict command was giuen from the King, that euery house should grauell the street before their doores, and hang out candle-light in the night: in doing whereof I was not slacke; and as I was informed, a poore man was put to death, and his house shut vp, for disobeying therein. The China Captaine furnished me with a couple of paper Lanternes very decent. And I was informed the Kings would ride about the streets, and come to visite me: so I made readie a banquet, and expected them vntil after midnight; but they came not at all.

On the twentieth, one and twentieth, and two and twentieth [August], I sent presents to both the Kings (being informed that it was the vse of the Countrey) of

[1] Miako, the modern Kiōto.

[2] Evidently the same person as Saris's Sima done.

Wine and banquetting stuffe; as likewise to Nobesane,[1] the young Kings brother, and to Semidone, the old Kings Gouernour, and Vnagense, which were well accepted. Some Caualeros came to visite our house, and receiued the best entertainment I could giue.

On the three and twentieth [August], we made an end of landing our Gun-powder, being in all ninety nine barrells, of which I aduised the Generall by letter to reserue conuenient store for ourselues, if he sold the Emperour the rest. We landed diuers other things, which things the Master thought good to send ashore, because our men begin to filtch and steale, to go to Tauernes and Whore-houses. The Purser, Master Melsham and my selfe dined at Semydones this day: and the Master and Master Eaton were likewise inuited, but did not goe. He vsed vs kindly.

This day the great Feast made an end, and three companies of Dancers went vp and downe the Towne with flags and banners, their musicke being Drummes and Pans;[2] at the sound whereof they danced at euery great mans doore, as also at all their Pagods and Sepulchres.

The foure and twentieth [August], at night all the streets were hanged with candle-light, for that the yong King and his brother, with Nabesone, Semydone, and many others went with a Maskarado, or to dance at the old Kings house: the yong King and his brother were mounted on horse-back, and had Canopies caried ouer them; the rest went on foote, and the musicke was Drummes and Kettles, as aforesaid: and Nabesone winded a Phife. I was informed they meant to visite the English House at their back returne: so I sate vp vntill after midnight, hauing a banquet in readinesse, and in the end they returned confusedly, and out of order; so I thinke there

[1] But see p. 82, note 3.

[2] Kettledrums, see below.

was some discontent. Once[1] none of them entred into the English house. Captaine Brower went along by the doore, but would not looke at vs, and we made as little account of him.

The seuen and twentieth [August] we landed other three peeces of Ordnance, viz. all whole Culuerin, all which sixe peeces are Iron Ordnance. The old King came downe when they were about it, and seeing but twentie men, offered them seuentie or an hundred Iapans to helpe them; but very quickly, in his sight, our men got them ashore, which he maruelled at, and said an hundred of his men would not haue done it so soone; so hee sent for a barrell of wine, and certaine fish, and gaue it to our people for labouring so lustily.

The eight and twentieth [August] I receiued two letters from our Generall, by the Gouernour of Shimonaseke, dated the nineteenth and twentieth of this moneth, with two other from Master Peacock, and Master Wickham. This Gouernour came not ashore at Ferando, but deliuered the Letters aboord to the Master, and so went directly for Langasaque, and promising to returne hither shortly. Also I carried a letter to the old King Foyne, which the said partie brought: Master Melsham, and Harnando accompanied me. The King gaue a Cattan to Master Melsham, and another with a Spanish Dagger to Harnando, and gaue both me and them certaine bunches of Garlick, and gaue vs leaue to drie our Gun-powder on the toppe of the Fortresse; offering vs of his people to helpe ours, if they thought good. And I receiued a land into the English House two and twentie barres of lead, and put into our new lodge an hundre[d] and twentie fiue Culuerin shot, round and langrell. And as wee were going to Supper,

[1] Cocks, in his letters, continually uses this word as a term of emphasis, equivalent to "for certa

the old King came and supped with vs, being very merry, and tooke such fare as we had, in good part.

The first of September, the old King, with all the Nobilitie, made a Maskerado ; and this night following went to visite the yong King his Grand-child, with musicke as aforesaid, all the streets being hanged with Lanternes ; and I was informed he meant to visite our English House at returne. So I made readie for him, and stayed his returne till after midnight ; but he passed by with the rest of the company, and entred not into the House. I thinke there was not so few as three thousand persons in company with him, which I make account was the occasion he went by, because he would not trouble us.

The second [September] Semydon and others, being appointed by the King, measured all the houses in the street ; our English house being measured amongst the rest. I vnderstand it was for a generall taske [1] to bee paid for making Fortresses by the Emperours appointment. I entertained them to content.

The fourth [September] we had newes the Queene of Spaine was dead, and the King a Suter to the Princes Elizabeth of England.[2]

The sixt [September] a Caualero, called Nombosque, came to visite our English House, and brought mee a present of two great bottells of wine, and a basket of Peares. I gaue him the best entertainment I could, and he departed content.

The seuenth [September] in the morning much raine, with wind encreasing all day and night variable, from the East to the South, and in the night happened such a

[1] A misprint for "tax."

[2] Philip III. became a widower in the autumn of 1611, and early in the following year overtures were made for his marriage with the Princess Elizabeth. Nothing, however, came of the negotiations. See Gardiner's *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 151.

storme or Tuffon,[1] that I neuer saw the like in all my life; neither was the like seene in this Countrey in mans memory, for it ouerthrew aboue an hundred houses in Firando, and vncouered many others; namely, the old Kings house, and blew downe a long wall which compassed the yong Kings house, and carryed away boughes or branches of trees: and the Sea went so high, that it vndermined a great Wharfe or Key at the Dutch House, and brake downe the stone-wall, and carryed away their Staires, and sunke and brake them two Barkes; as also fortie or fiftie other Barkes were broken and sunke in the Roade. It brake downe our Kitchen wall at the English House, which was newly made, and flowed into our Ouen, and brake it downe, and blew downe the tyles, and vncouered part both of the house and kitchen, and the house did shake like as if there had beene an Earthquake. I neuer passed night in all my life in such feare, for the barbarous vnruly people did runne vp and downe the streets all night with fire-brands, that the wind carried great coales quite ouer the tops of houses, and some houses being carryed away, the wind whirled vp the fire which was in them, and carried it into the ayre in great flakes, very fearefull to behold; so that the greatest feare I had was that all would haue been consumed with fire. And I verily thinke it had, had it not been for the extreame raine which fell (contrary to the true nature of a Tuffon), being accompanied with lightning and thunder. Our shippe roade at an anchor with fiue Cables, and as many Anchors, whereof one old Cable burst, but God be thanked no other hurt done. Our long Boat and Skiffe were both driuen from the shippe, yet both recouered againe. And, as it is said, it did more hurt at Langasaque then heere, for it

[1] Or Typhoon, as it is now spelt. This orthography, which is used by Cocks throughout his *Diary* (Hakluyt Society), does not support the popular etymology, *i.e.*, tai-fêng, great wind.

brake aboue twentie China Iunckes, and the Spanish ship which brought the Embassadour from the Manilleas or Philippinas.

The twelfth [September] two Merchants of Miaco came to our English house, vnto whom I shewed all our Commodities. They laid by two broad-cloths, viz. a Stammel[1] and a Blacke, the best they could find, and offered seuen Tais Iapan money the yard. Also they saw our Priaman[2] Gold, and offered eleuen Tais Iapan plate, for one Tais Gold: but went away without doing any thing.

Francis Williams beeing drunke ashoare, did strike one of the old Kings men with a cudgell, which gaue him no occasion at all, nor spake a word to him.[3] The man came to the English house, and complained, being very angry (and not without cause), giuing me to vnderstand that he would informe the King his Master how he was misused by our people. He had three or foure in Company with him, who did see him abused, and that he which did it was newly gone aboord the ship. I gaue them faire words, and desired them to go aboord, and find out the partie, and they should see him punished to their contents; and to that effect, sent Miguell our Iurebasso along with them. So they found out the said Williams, who would haue denied it, if the matter had not been too manifest; but he stood stiffely against it with oathes. Yet the Master caused him to be brought to the Capstaine in their presence, which they seeing, intreated for his pardon, knowing he was drunke; but he was so vnruly, that he

[1] In Cocks's *Diary* this word is always "stammet;" so also in Saris.

[2] See Note on p. 5.

[3] "Of many misdemeanours, I permit some to passe the Presse that the cause of so many deaths in the Indies, might be found rather to be imputed to their owne than the Elements distemper, and for a caueat to others which shall send, or be sent into Ethnicke Regions; yet doe I conceale the most and worst."—*Marginal note by Purchas.*

tooke vp a crow of Iron to haue stricken the fellow in presence of the Master, vsing the Master in very bad termes.

The thirteenth [September] I vnderstood that Foyne, the old King of Firando, was sicke, whereupon I sent Miguel our Iurebasso to visit him, and to carry a Present of one great bottle of the Generals sweet wine, and two boxes of Conserues, Comfits, and Sugar-bread, offering him my Seruice, beeing very sory to heare of his sicknesse, and that I would haue come my selfe, but that I knew company was not pleasing to sicke men. He tooke my Present in very good part, and returned me many thanks: wishing me not to let to aske for any thing we had need of, either for the ship or ashoare, and he would giue such order as we should be furnished.

The foureteenth [September] in the morning betimes, the Master came ashoare, and told me that most part of the ships company had lien ashoare all night without asking him leaue, notwithstanding the great wind which had continued all night, and the ship on ground. So he willed me to let Miguell our Iurabasso goe along with him to seeke them out, which I was content he should doe, and would haue accompanied him my selfe, but he was vnwilling, telling me it was needlesse. But M. Melsham, the Purser, went along with him, and he found diuers drinking and domineering; he bestowed blowes amongst some of them, and notwithstanding the Master had commanded Lambart and Colphax to retire aboord, yet they staid ashoare all day, notwithstanding the great need was aboord about ships businesse, diuers Iapans being hired to helpe them. And Lambart and Colphax being drunke, went into the field and fought, Lambart being hurt in the arme, and remained drunken ashoare all night, as Boles did the like, and so had done two or three nights before, and quarrelled with Christopher Euans, about a whoore.

The seuenteeth of September, I was giuen to vnderstand [that] Bastian, which keepeth the whoore-house, gaue it out that if I came any more into his house to seeke for our people, he would kill me and such as came with me. Whereupon I went and complained to the young King, because the old was sicke; and at my request, the King made Proclamation that no Iapanese should receiue any of our people into their houses after day light was done, vpon great paine, and that it should be lawfull for me, or any other that accompanied me, to goe into any Iapans house to seeke for our men, without any molestation; and that they themselues should aide and assist me; and if the doore[s] were not opened at my comming, I might lawfully breake them downe; and a souldiour was sent to Bastian to signifie vnto him he should take heed he did not molest or disturbe me in my proceedings: for if he did, he should be the first that should pay for it. This angred our people in such sort that some of them gaue it out they would drinke in the fields, if they might not be suffered to doe it in the Towne; for drinke they would, although they sought it in the countrey.

The sixe and twentieth [September] Nouasca dona came to visit me at the English house, and brought me two bottles of wine, seuen loaues fresh bread, and a dish of flying fish; and as he was with me, the old King came by the doore, and said he met two men in the street as he came along, which hee thought were strangers, and none of our people; wherefore he willed that Swanton and our Iurebasso might goe along with one of his men, and he would shew them to them; which they did, and found it was Iohn Lambart and Iacob Charke, who were drinking water at a doore in the streete as he passed by. I was glad the King looked so neare after them; for it caused our men to haue a better care of their proceedings.

The seuen and twentieth [September] M. William Paul-

ing, Masters mate, hauing been long sicke of a consumption, died at the English house, whereof I aduertised the old King by Miguel our Iurebasso, desiring a buriall place for him among the Christians, which he graunted me. So we put the dead corps into a winding sheete and coffind it vp, letting it rest till morning. Then the Master and diuers others of the ships company came to the English house, to accompanie the dead corps to the graue, and then were we giuen to vnderstand that of force we must transport it by water as farre as the Dutch house, onely because the Bose (or Priests) would not suffer vs to pass through the streets (with the dead corps) before their Pagod or Temple. So the Master sent for the Skiffe, and conueied the dead body by water to the place aforesaid, we going all by land, and met it, and so accompanied it to the place of buriall; the Purser going before, and all the rest following after; the coffin being couered with a Holland sheet, and vpon that a Silke quilt, we being followed with many of that countrey people, both young and old. And after the corps was enterred, we returned all to the English house, and there made collation, and so our people returned aboord about ships business. I had almost forgot to note down, that we had much adoe to get any one of these country people to make the graue that a Christian was to be buried in; neither would they suffer the dead corps to be conueied by water in any of their boates.

The King commaunded that all the streetes in Firando should be made cleane, and channell rowes made on either side to conuey away the water, the streetes being grauelled, and the channels couered oer with flat stones; which worke was all done in one day, euery one doing it before his owne house. It was admirable to see the diligence euery one vsed therein. Our house was not the last a doing, the Captain Chinesa (our Landlord) setting men a worke to doe it.

The thirtieth [September] certaine Merchants of Miaco came and had sight of all our commodities, and laid out the best Stammell cloth we had, and offered twelue Tais a fathome for it, and so departed without doing any thing.

We had extream winds both day and night, so that we thought another Tuffon had beene come; for all the fishermen haled their boates on shoare, and euery one bound fast the couering of their houses: for a Bose (or Coniurer) had told the King (a week since) that this tempest would come.

Our Chirurgion being in his pots, came into a house where a Bose was coniuring for a woman, to know of her husbands or friends returne from Sea. So when he had done he gaue him three pence to coniure againe, and tell him when our General would returne for this place, which in the ende he assured him would be within eighteene dayes. Hee[1] said hee heard a voice answer him from behind a wall, both when he coniured for the woman, as also when he coniured for himselfe.

The second of October, the Master sent me word that some of our ships company had runne away with the Skiffe, viz. Iohn Bowles, Iohn Sares, Iohn Tottie, Christopher Euans, Clement Locke, Iasper Malconty, and Iames the Dutchman.[2] I was in way to goe to the King to get boats to send after them, but our Dutch Iurebasso (entertained for ships vse) came running after mee, and told me our people were on the other side, making merry at a Taphouse; which speeches caused me to returne to the English house, and to get a boat for the Master to goe looke them out. But they prooued to be others, namely, William Marinell, Simon Colphax, and Iohn Dench, who had hired a boat, and were gone ouer to an other Iland, because they

[1] The surgeon.

[2] "Seuen English, viz. fiue English and two Flemmings which were bound for England."—*Marginal note by Purchas.*

could not haue swinge to walke by night in Firando. So in the meane time our Run-awayes had the more time to runne awaye.

This night about eleuen a clock, the old Kings house on the other side the water was set on fire, and quite burned downe in the space of an houre. I neuer saw a more vehement fire for the time. It is thought his losse is great; and as it is said, he himselfe set it on fire, in going vp and down in the night with lighted canes, the coales whereof fell among the mats, and so tooke fire.

The third [October] I went to visit the old King, giuing him to vnderstand by his Gouernour that I was very sorry for the mischance happened the night past, and that I pretended[1] to haue come my selfe in person to haue holpen the best I could, but that I stood in doubt whether my companie would haue been acceptable, I being a stranger; yet assuring him that he should find me readie at all times, to do him the best seruice I could, although it were with hazard of my life. He returned me many thanks, saying the losse he had sustained was nothing. And in returning to the English house, I met the young King going to visit his Grandfather.

And before noone wee had word that our Run-awayes were at a desart Iland, some two leagues from Firando, which I made knowne to both the Kings, desiring their assistance and counsel, how we might fetch them backe againe. They answered, that backe they would fetch them either aliue or dead; yet they would be loth to kill them, in respect we might want men to carry our ship backe for England. I gaue them thanks for the care they had of vs; yet withall gaue them to vnderstand that although these knaues miscarried, yet we had honest men enough to saile the ship for England. In fine, the King made ready two

[1] Intended.

boats full of souldiours to goe after them, with full determination to bringe them backe either aliue or dead, which I made knowne to the Master, who desired verie much to goe along with them.

The fourth of October, there was report giuen out that the deuil had answered by their Oracle to their Bose or Coniurers that the Towne of Firando should bee burned to ashes this night; so that cryers went vp and downe the streets all night, making such a noyse that I tooke but little rest. They gaue warning that euery one should put out their fire. Yet, God be thanked, the Deuill was prooued a lyer therein; for no such matter happened.

The fifth [October] the old King, Foyne Same, came to the English house, where I gaue him the best entertainement I could. He also told me that our Fugitiues could not escape taking, and that hee had sent out two other men of warre after the two former. And as I was talking with him about these matters, there came a Cauelero, and brought him a Letter from the Emperours Court, and said that our Generall would be here at Firando within eight or tenne dayes; for that the Emperour had dispatcht him away before his comming from thence.

The King told me, that the Gouernor (or King) of Langasaque, called Bon Diu,[1] would bee here at Firando to morrow, telling me it were good our ship shot off three or foure Peeces of Ordnance as he passed by. This Gouernour is the Empresses brother. And there is an

[1] The real name of the Governor of Nagasaki at this period was Hasegawa Sahiōye, who held the appointment from 1606 to 1614. A sister of his, named Natsuko, was one of the concubines of Iyeyasu. He was a zealous persecutor of the native Roman Catholic Christians. Perhaps Bon Diu is a nickname given him by the English on this account. Cocks, as we know, had lived in France. Other instances of nicknames bestowed on Japanese are Grubstreet for their Osaka agent, and Machiavelli for their agent at Yedo (Cocks's *Diary*, i, 325, and i, 177). Bartoli (*Il Giappone*, Roma, 1660, p. 713), corroborates Cocks, but calls the Governor by his right name.

other Iapan Gouernour, or King, in Towne, of a place called Seam.[1]

The seuenth [October] our Master, M. James Foster, returned from Langasaque, and had brought the Skiffe with him; but all the men were gotten into Sanctuarie in the Towne, so that he could not come to speech of any one of them. I was informed that Miguell, our Iurebasso, dealt doubly both with the Master and my selfe; for I sent him along to be linguist, and assist the Master, and diuers Iapans came to me, telling me, that he both spake with our people and gaue them counsell to absent themselues. Once I did perceiue how the world went, and doubted the priuy conueyance of our people, which was like to ensue, if this Bon Diu, the Gouernour, were not extraordinarily dealt withall: whereupon a Present was laid out.

Afternoone, the Bon Diu passed along the street before our English house on foot, hee being accompanied with the young King (who gaue him the vpper hand) with about fiue hundred followers after them. I went out into the streete, and did my dutie to them, and the Bon Diu stood still when he came to the doore, and gaue me thanks for the Ordnance were shot off at his passing by our ship. I desired pardon of his Greatnesse, if I had neglected my dutie hitherto, which was by meanes of the small acquaintance I had in the Countrey, but that I meant to visit him at his lodging, or aboord his Iuncke, before he went. He answered me, I should be very welcome. So it was darke night before he came to his lodging. At which time I carried the Present abouesaid, which hee accepted of in very good sort, offering to doe our Nation any good he could at the Court, whither he was now bound, or else

[1] This is possibly a misprint for Sema, and in that case Cocks may, perhaps, have been speaking of Terazawa Shima no kami, who had been governor of Nagasaki from 1592 to 1602. The title Shima no kami would at that time be probably taken by Europeans to mean king of Shima.

where. And so of his owne accord, hee beganne to speake of our Fugitiues, asking me if he brought them backe againe, whether they should be pardoned all for his sake for this fault? I answered him, it was not in my power to pardon them, but in our General, which no doubt (except it were one or two, which were the chiefe authors of this and other euils which deserued punishment) that the rest might easily goe free. He said, that his desire was for pardon for all in generall, without exception. I answered, that I knew our Generall would be contented with any thing his Greatnesse and the two Kings of Firando would desire. To conclude, he told me that if I would giue it vnder writing of my owne hand, in faith of a Christian, that all in generall should be pardoned for this time, and that I would procure the Generall to confirme the same at his returne, that then he would send to Langasaque for them, and deliuer them into my owne custody: otherwaies he would not meddle in the matter, to be the occasion of the death of any man. I said I was contented with any thing it pleased his Greatnes to command, and so to giue the said writing vnder my hand, prouided all our men might be brought backe. And so I returned to the English house, the Dutch comming after with an other Present, but we were before them.

The eight [October] Semidone, passing by our doore, told mee that Bon Diu had a Brother in companie, which expected a present, although it was not fitting it should be so much as his Brothers. So vpon aduice with others I laid by a present for him, as followeth [*details wanting*]: and going to deliuer it, the Flemings were before me with another, Captaine Brower himselfe being with it. Hee accepted very kindly of the present, offering his assistance to our Nation, either at Court, or in the Countrey. And soone after he came to the English House himselfe, accompanied with many Caualeeres, where they looked on all

our Commodities; yet hee went away, and bought nothing, but gaue mee a small Cattan, and I gaue him two Glasse Bottles, two Gally-pots, and about halfe a Cattee of great Cloues, picked out from the rest of purpose, hee being desirous to haue them for Physicall matters, as he told me. I made him and his followers a Collation, and so they departed content. And soone after Bon Diu, and the two Kings sent a Caualeero to me to haue me to giue it in writing vnder my hand that our Run-awayes should not receiue any punishment for this fact. So by counsell of others, I condescended thereunto, and made a Writing in promise and faith of a Christian, they[1] procure their pardon for this time of the Generall; if I had not done this, out of doubt we should neuer haue got them againe, but the Spaniard would haue conuayed them to the Manillies or Maluccoes, I not doubting but the Generall will allow of what I haue done. And presently after this man was gone I had word that the Bon Diu and his Brother would goe aboord to visit our ship. So I sent some banketting stuffe aboord, and went my selfe and met them, where they were entertayned in the best sort we could, and Bon Diu gaue mee two Cattans for a present, and so they departed with seuen Peeces of Ordnance shot off for a fare-well. But forth-with his Brother returned aboord againe, desiring to haue one of the little Monkeyes for his Brothers children. So I bought one of the Master Gunner, cost me fiue Rials of eight, and sent him to Bon Diu; and being readie to goe ashoare, he was desirous to haue me goe along with him in his Boate, which I did, he hauing three Peeces of Ordnance for a fare-well, which, as I vnderstood afterwards, was much esteemed off of both Brothers, and being ashoare hee would needs accompany me home to our English House, which I was vnwilling of,

[1] Misprint for "to."

yet hee would of force doe it. So I made him collation againe in Captain Adams chamber: and so hee and the rest departed well contented (as it seemed), I offering to haue accompanyed him backe to his lodging, but he would not suffer mee. And late at night Foyne Same the olde King sent a man to me to know the particular of the presents giuen to both the Brothers, and put it downe in writing, but for what occasion I know not. And I forgot to note downe how Bon Diu went to the Dutch House to wash himselfe in the new Hot-house, and from thence it was that hee came aboord our ship.

The ninth [October] Bon Diu sent one of his men to me to giue mee thankes for his kind entertaynment aboord, and by the same Messenger sent me two barrels of Miaco Wine for a Present. And soone after his Brother sent another man with two Barrels of Iapan Wine, with the like ceremonie; both of them being very earnest to haue a Prospectiue Glasse, and in the end I found an old one of Master Eatons; but soone after he returned me the said Glasse with thankes, not desiring at all to haue it.

The tenth [October] two of the Governours sonnes of Langasaque (I meane another Gouernour, which dwelleth in the Towne) came to see our English House. They are Christians. I entertayned them in the best sort I could, and shewed them our commodities, and after made them collation and gaue them Musicke, Master Hownsell and the Carpenter by chance being heere. And as wee were at it, old Foyne, the King, came stealing in vpon vs, and did as the rest did, and seeing the King and these Langasakians together, I willed our Iurebasso to put out a word for the speedie sending backe of our Run-awayes; which they all promised, prouided that they should be pardoned for this fault, as I had formerly promised, which now againe I acknowledged. The old King desired to haue

a piece of English Beefe, and another of Porke, sod with Onions and Turnips, and sent to him to morrow.

The eleuenth [October] I sent Migell our Iurebasso to the old King, with the Beefe and Porke accommodated[1] as aforesaid, with a bottle of Wine, and sixe Loaues of white Bread. He accepted of it in very kind part, hauing in his company at eating thereof the young King his Grand-childe, and Nabisone his Brother, with Semidone his Kinsman.

The twelfth [October][2] I went to visit both the Kings, and found old Foyne asleepe, but spake with his Gouernour, and from thence went to the young King, and spake with him himselfe. They gaue me thankes for the kind entertaynment I gaue vnto these strangers, which they tooke as done vnto themselues. And towards night the old King sent to visit me, and to tell me vnderstood these people which are departed had taken away certaine commodities from me, and payd mee what they themselues thought good, and not that which I required. I returned him answere, that it was true that they had done so, but I know not whether it were the custome of this Countrey or no; for that I was giuen to vnderstand they vsed the like course both with Chineses and Portugalls at Langasaque, and that that which they had taken from mee was not worth the speaking of. I was answered that although they did so with the Chineses at Langasaque, which were people defended[3] not to trade into Iapan, yet could they not doe so to Strangers that had free priuiledge to trade, especially heere in this place, where these fellowes had no command nor nothing to doe. I replied I would come and

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[1] Cooked; a French idiom.

[2] "A great Feast among the Pagans began this day, it being told me it was like a Lent, or Pasques of the Papists."—*Marginal note by Purchas.*

[3] Forbidden; a French idiom.

speake with his Highnesse my selfe, and informe him of the truth: and in the meane-time returned humble thankes for the care hee had to vse Iustice to Strangers as well as home-borne.

Captain Brower sent me word that they had taken diuers sorts of commodities from him, and paid him what they list for it. He also sent an emptie Bottle, desiring to haue it filled with Spanish Wine, for that hee had inuited certaine Strangers, and had none.

The thirteenth [October] I heard three or foure Gunnes, or Chambers, goe off, which I thought had bin done to entertayne the King at the Dutch House; but they were shot out of a China Iuncke, which passed by this place, and so went for Langasaque. And presently after the old King sent for me to come to dinner to the Dutch House, and Master Eaton with mee, and to bring a Bottle of Wine. Master Eaton had taken Physicke and could not goe, but I went. Wee had a very good Dinner at the Dutch House, the meate being well drest both after the Iapan and Dutch fashion, and serued vpon Tables, but no great drinking. The olde King sate at one Table, accompanied with his eldest Sonne and both the young Kings Brothers (for the young King himselfe was not there, sending word he was not well). At the other Table First sate Nabesone, the old Kings Brother, and then my selfe, and next me Semidone, and then the old Kings Gouernour, and next him Zanzebars Father-in-law, and diuers other Caualeeroes on the other side. Captaine Brower did not sit at all, but carued at Table, all his owne people attending and seruing on their knees; and in the end, he gaue drinke to euery one of his ghests with his owne hands and vpon his knees; which seemed strange to me, and when they had dined, all the Nobles went away, and Captaine Brower would needs accompany me to the English House. I asked him why he serued these people vpon his knees,

they sitting at Table. He answered me it was the fashion of the Country, and if the King himselfe made a Feast, hee did the like for the more honour of his ghests. And before night the old King Foyne came to the English House, and visited all parts, and made collation, staying an houre talking of one thing and other.

The sixteenth [October] I was giuen to vnderstand that two Christians were come from Langasaque. So I went to their lodging to see what they were, as also to vnderstand some newes from our men (or Fugitiues). I found the one of them to bee a Flemming,[1] borne in Flushing, (as he told mee) and the other an Italian,[2] borne in the Duchie of Venice. They told mee that our seuen men (or Runawayes) were conueighed away secretly in a small Barke, which is gone for Macoro ;[3] and that they[4] were runne to get passage in our ship to returne into their Countries. They told me Master Adams knew them well; and they were very desirous to haue gone immediately aboord our ship, there to haue remayned, because they were Sea-faring men, the Flemming hauing serued the Spaniard three and twentie or foure and twenty yeares, and came a Masters Mate from Agua pulca[5] for the Manillias or Phillippinas. They had good store of money, and would haue sent it aboord our ship or haue brought it to the English House; but I told them that in our Generals absence I durst not presume to giue them entertainment:[6] yet notwithstanding, I would doe them any fauour I could at his returne; and so sent Migell our Iurebasso to the King to let him vnderstand that two

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[1] George Peterson (*marginal note*).
[2] Daman Maryn (*marginal note*). This man is frequently mentioned in Cocks's *Diary*.
[3] A misprint for "Macao."
[4] The Dutchman and Italian.
[5] Acapulco, in Mexico.
[6] *I.e.*, to engage their services.

such Strangers were come to Towne to seeke passage in our shippe, they being no Spaniards, nor yet Subiects to the King of Spaine. The King returned mee answere, that if they were such as I said they were, they were welcome: but if they were Castillians, or Portugalls, hee would permit none to stay in this place. His reason is, for that the Spanish Ambassador hath procured from the Emperour of Iapan that all Spaniards which are found in his Empire shall retyre themselues into the Phillippinas; but these being no Spaniards, are out of that number.

The seuenteenth [October] betimes, the two strangers came to mee, desiring me to accompany them to the old King, the better to countenance them; which vpon good consideration I did. They told me in the way that our Fugitiues had reported at Langasaque that more would come after them, and not any man of account stay to carry away the ship; the occasion they said was for that they which had command ouer them vsed them more like dogges then men; adding further, that if but twentie resolute Spaniards would take the matter in hand, with a small Boat or two they might easily take our shippe. The old King gaue vs all kind entertainment, and asked the strangers many questions about the warres betwixt the Spaniards and Flemmings in the Moluccas; the which they said the Spaniards were determined to pursue very hotly, and to that effect had great forces prepared. They also told the King, they thought verily all our Fugitiues were secretly conueyed from Langasaque seuen daies past in a Soma, that departed from thence for Macow;[1] but the King would not beleeue them, saying it was not possible that such a man as Bon Diu, hauing passed his word to bring them backe, should be found to be false of

[1] "Miguell the *Iurebasso*, Capt. Adams his man, was suspected of double dealing in this case of the Fugitiues: the circumstances, I omit."—*Marginal note in Purchas.*

his promise. In fine, he was very well contented that these two strangers should stay heere and goe along in our ship, if it pleased the Generall to carry them. So the poore men returned to their lodgings with much content; and told me in the way that we might make account we had not lost all our men, but recouered two, that would remaine as faithfull to the death as the others had proued false; adding further, that we needed not to wish any worse reuenge to our Fugitiues, then the bad entertainment they were sure to haue of the Spaniards, comming bare and beggerly as they did, in such base sort.

The eighteenth [October] there was a great Eclipse of the Moone this night. It began about eleuen of the clocke, and endured from the beginning to the end [*blank*] houres. It was quite darkned.

The nineteenth [October] at night, about eleuen of the clocke, a fire began in Firando, neare vnto the yong Kings house, the wind being at North-east, which if it had so continued, most part of the Towne had beene burned; but the wind fell variable South-easterly, and in the end calme. Yet notwithstanding forty houses were burned to the ground; and had not our English men bestirred themselues lustily, many more houses had gone to wrack, for the fire tooke hold three or foure times on the other side the street, where our English house was, but they still put it out, and were very much commended of the Kings and all other in generall. The old King Foyne came on horseback to our doore, and wished vs to put all things into the Gadonge,[1] and daube vp the doores, and then it was out of danger. Captaine Brower and some of his people came very kindly to the English house, to haue assisted vs by land or water, if need had bin. It cannot certainly be

[1] The godown, or storehouse. Cocks's spelling represents better the original Malay word. (See Yule and Burnell, *s.v.*)

known how this fire began, but there is speeches amongst the Iapans that there will be a greater fire then any of these, it being told them by the Diuell and their Coniurers. God grant it bee not done by some villanous ill minded people, thinking to rob and steale what they can lay hold on in time of such trouble and confusion.

The twentieth [October] in the morning, I went to the Dutch house to visite Captaine Brower and to giue him thankes for his friendly visitation and assistance the last night. And towards night Harnando, the Spaniard, and Edward Markes returned from Langasaque, but could not come to sight of any of our Runawayes; yet it is certaine that they are in Langasaque. And a Portugall or Spaniard, a great man in Langasaque about Sea-matters, told Edward Markes that wee should haue none of these men backe; but to the contrary, if all the rest would come, and leaue the shippe emptie, they would giue them entertainment: yea, and that which was more, if they would bring away the shippe and all, they should be the more welcome. The Iapan, which the King sent to accompany Edward Markes and Harnando, and to looke out our people, would not let Edward Marks budge out a doores in the space of one night and halfe a day after they were arriued there at Langasaque, he going abroad himselfe, and the Spaniard Harnando lying at another place. So I doubt some legerdy-maine betwixt them two, and am now out of all hope to haue any of our people come backe. I blamed the Iesuits, and the old King liked well of my speeches; and told me he would take such order hereafter that none of our people should be carried to Langasaque, except they stole away our ship-boats, as the others did; of which I aduised the Master, Master Iames Foster. And so an Edict was set out that no man should carry or conuey away any of our people, without making it knowne vnto me and telling the King thereof.

The three and twentieth [October] I was giuen to vnderstand of a great Pagan Feast that was to be performed this day, and that both the Kings, with all the rest of the Nobilitie, accompanyed with diuers strangers, met together at a Summer-house, set vp before the great Pagod, to see a Horse-race. I thinke there was not so few as three thousand persons assembled together, as I esteemed in viewing of them. Euery Nobleman went on horse-backe to the place, accompanied with a rout of Slaues, some with Pikes, some with Small-shot, and others with Bowes and Arrowes. The Pike-men were placed on the one side of the streete, and the Shot and Archers on the other, the middest of the streete being left void to runne the race. And right before the Summer-house (where the King and Nobles sate) was a round Buckler of straw hanged against the wall, at which the Archers on horse-backe, running a full Careere, discharged their arrowes, both in the streete and Summer-house, where the Nobles sate; that neither the Present which we sent, nor we, could haue entrance. And so we passed along the streete, beholding all, and returned another way to the English house.

And late at night Zanzebars wifes brother came to the English house, and brought me a Present of a hanch of Venison, and a basket of Orenges. Zanzebar himselfe did accompany him. And about ten of the clocke in the night, the Çaptaine Chinesa (our Landlord) came and knocked at the doore, telling me that the King had giuen expresse command that euery house should haue a Tubbe of water ready on the toppe of their houses, for that the Diuell had said the Towne should be burned this night; yet he proued a lyer. But for all that, we got a great Tubbe of water on the top of our house, which held twentie buckets of water; and men did runne vp and downe the streetes all night, bidding euery one looke to their fire, that it was strange and fearefull to heare them.

The foure and twentieth [October], this report of burning the Towne being still current, and euery one making prouision to preuent it, I made ready fifteene buckets, which cost sixe Condrins a peece, and filled them full of water, and hanged them vp in the yard, and set another great Tubbe by them full of water, besides that which stood on the toppe of the house; and gaue order to make a couple of ladders to carry water to the top of the house; and had formerly prouided nine emptie wine-barrels full of tempered clay, to daube vp our Gadonge doores, if need should require. God defend vs from any such necessitie. Three or foure men did runne vp and downe the streetes all night, making a horrible noyse, that euery one should haue a care thereof, that it was both strange and fearefull to heare them.

The fiue and twentieth [October] the Captaine Chinesa our Land-lord, being sicke, sent for a piece of Porke, which I sent him, and presently followed after my selfe to visite him, and carried him a small bottle of Spanish wine. And while I was there, Semedone and our Guardians father in law came likewise to visite him.

The King sent me word by Miguell, our Iurebasso, that he had a bad opinion of Harnando Ximenes our Spaniard, and that he went about to haue runne away when he was last at Langasaque; but that I know is not so, for he had free libertie to goe when he would, without running away. Another complaint was also made of him that he was a common Gamster, and had brought on diuers to play, and got their money; which report I doe rather beleeue then the other. And I find by experience these people are no friend neither of Spaniard nor Portugall, and loue them of Langasaque the worse, because they loue them so wel.

And I had almost forgotten to note downe that the night past ill disposed people had thought to haue fired

the Towne in three places, and in one place set a house on fire, but it was soone put out, and no hurt done; but the partie that did it was not found. Out of doubt it is nothing but a villanie of these Coniurers and other base people, which are giuen to the spoile, hoping to get or steale away something when the Towne is on fire.

The sixe and twentieth [October], Master Melsham being very sicke, Zanzebar came to visite him, and put him in mind to take the Physicke of this Countrey, and that it would presently stop his Flux; and brought a Bonze[1] or Doctor with him, to administer it. Master Melsham was very desirous to take it, but that first our Chirurgion should see it. And so he giue him two pils yesterday, two in the night, and two in the morning, with certaine other seeds; but for ought I could see, it did him no good at all. God send him his health. All our waste-clothes, pendants, Brasse shiuers, and other matters were sent aboord, and the ship put in order to receiue the Generall. Another house was set on fire the night past by villaines, but soone put out, and no hurt done. Our night-criers of fire doe keepe such a horrible noise (without forme or fashion) that it is impossible for any man to take rest.

The Captaine Chinesa being sicke sent for some spiced Cakes and a couple of wax candles; which I sent him, as I had done the like heretofore. Master Melsham, now being weary of his Iapan Physicke, returned to our Chirurgion, Master Warner. Whereat Zanzebar and his Doctor tooke pepper in the nose.[2]

The thirtieth day [of October] the Captaine Chinesa (our Land-lord) came vnto me, and told mee of a generall

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[1] The word "bonze" was also applied to doctors, who went shaven-headed.

[2] Were much offended.

Collection which was made throughout euery house in the Towne, to send presents of eatable commodities to the Kings, for the more honor of a great Feast they haue to morrow, with a Comœdie or Play: and so by his counsell (with aduice of others) I ordained two bottles of Spanish wine, two roasted Hennes, a roasted Pigge, a small quantitie Ruske, and three boxes banquetting stuffe, to send to their Feast to morrow. And before night the yong King sent one of his men vnto me, to furnish them with some English apparell, for the better setting out their Comœdie, namely, a paire of Stamel-cloath breeches. I returned answere, I had none such, neither did know any other which had: notwithstanding, if any apparell I had would pleasure his Highnesse, I would willingly giue it him. And within night both the Kings sent to me, to bring Master Foster, the Master, and be a spectator of their Comœdie to morrow.

The one and thirtieth [October], before dinner, I sent our Present aforesaid to the Kings by our Iurebasso, desiring their Highnesses to pardon the Master and my selfe, and that we would come to them some other time, when there were lesse people. But that would not serue the turne, for they would needs haue our company, and to bring Master Eaton along with vs: which wee did, and had a place appointed for vs, where we sate and saw all at our pleasures. And the old King himselfe came and brought vs Collation in sight of all the people; and after Semidone did the like in the name of both the Kings; and after diuers Noblemen of the Kings followers made vs a third Collation. But the matter I noted most of all was their Comœdie (or Play), the Actors being the Kings themselues, with the greatest Noblemen and Princes. The matter was of the valiant deeds of their Ancestors from the beginning of their Kingdome or Common-wealth, untill this present, with much mirth mixed among, to giue

the common people content. The Audience was great, for no house in Towne but brought a Present, nor no Village nor place vnder their Dominions but did the like, and were spectators. And the Kings themselues did see that euery one, both great and small, did eate and drinke before they departed. Their acting Musique and singing (as also their Poetry) is very harsh to vs, yet they keepe due time both with hands and feet. Their Musique is little Tabers,[1] made great at both ends, and smal in the middest, like to an Houre-glasse, they beating on the end with one hand, and straine the cords which goe about it with the other, which maketh it to sound great or small as they list, according their voices with it, one playing on a Phife or Flute; but all harsh and not pleasant to our hearing. Yet I neuer saw Play wherein I noted so much, for I see their policie is great in doing thereof, and quite contrary to our Comœdies in Christendome, ours being but dumbe shewes, and this the truth it selfe, acted by the Kings themselues, to keepe in perpetuall remembrance their affaires. The King did not send for the Flemmings, and therefore I accounted it a greater grace for vs.

At our returne to the English house, I found three or foure Flemmings there; one of them was in a Iapan habit, and came from a place called Cushma,[2] within sight of Corea. I vnderstand they sold Pepper and other Commodities there, and I thinke haue some secret trade into Corea, or else are very likely to haue. I hope, if they doe well, we cannot doe amisse, M. Adams being the man that put them forward vnto it, and no doubt will bee as forward for the good of his owne Countrey as for Strangers. Hernando Ximenes was with Captaine Brower, and saw the two men which came from Cushma, and did but aske him

[1] In Japanese *tsudzumi*.

[2] The island of Tsushima.

from whence they came; whereat Captaine Brower was angry, telling him he would giue him no account thereof. And towards night, I understood that two Spaniards were come from Langasaque, and lodged at Zanzibars, and sent for our Iurebassa to come to them; but I would not let him go so soone. After, Zanzibar and they came to the English house, the one of them beeing Andres Bulgaryn, the Genowes, which passed by this place the other day; and the other is called Benito de Palais, and is Pilot Maior of the Spanish ship, which was cast away on the Coast of Iapan, and is the same man which came from Langasaque to visit M. Adams at his being here. They told me they were come of purpose to visit their friends, namely, my selfe first of all, with many other words of complement, and then entred into speeches of our Fugitiues; saying it was not the Fathers (as they call them) which kept our people secret, or went about to conuey them away; but rather they of Langasaque themselues, who they reported to be very bad people. In fine, I stood in doubt that these fellowes are come of purpose to inueigle more of our people to doe as the others haue done, and thereof aduised the Master to haue a care both to ship and boats, as also to take notice of any such as went about to keepe them company; for that it is good to doubt the worst, for the best will saue it selfe.

The first of Nouember at night, two houses were set on fire on the other side of the water, but [the] fire was soone put out; but the villaines that did it could not be found. I sent M. Foster, the Master, a letter, aduising him to take care of ship and boats, as also to looke vnto the behauiour of our people, for that I doubted these two Spaniards were but come as Spies, to see what we did, and to intice some other of our people to do as the former did. Also I aduised him how I vnderstood the said Spaniards did pretend to inuite him to dinner this day; but I wished him

to take heed they gaue him not a Higo.[1] He returned me answer that he esteemed them such as I tooke them for, and therefore would haue a care to the maine chance. But soone after he came ashoare, and the Spaniards came to the English house, and with much intreaty got M. Foster and M. William Eaton to goe along to dinner with them to Zanzebars; and the other two Spaniards and Harnando did the like. But these two Spaniards cam vnto me, and bade mee tell the Master or any other that went with them to take heed they did not eate nor drinke any thing but such as they did see the others taste before them; for that it was no trusting of them; of which I aduised both the Master and M. Eaton. Also I sent Miguell, our Iurebassa, to both the Kings (and other Nobles) to give them thanks for our kind entertainment yesterday. Harnando Ximenes told me that M. Adams had goods in his hands belonging to this Pilot Maior the Spaniard, and that his chiefe comming was, thinking to have met M. Adams here, and doth meane to attend his comming to haue accompt of those matters. As also they brought Letters of recommendation from the Bishop, and other Fathers to the other two Spaniards (or strangers) to perswade them to returne back to Langasaque; but I thinke it is not their determination so to doe.

The second [November] some villaines set an house on fire in the Fish streete; and it was soone put out and the partie escaped. And it is generally thought to be some base people or Renegados, which lie loytering vp and downe the Towne, and came from Miaco, and three are much suspected, but no proofe as yet found against them. But there is order giuen to make Gates and Partitions ouer euery streete in diuers places, and watch to be kept at

[1] The Spanish phrase, *no dársele á uno un higo*, means to take no account of. Cocks seems to use it in the sense of "not make a fool of."

each place, and no man be suffered to walke in the night, except he be found to haue earnest businesse. Another villaine got into a poore widdowes house, thinking to haue robbed her, but she making an out-cry, hee fled vp into the wood ouer against the English house, where the Pagod is; and soone after, the wood was beset round about with aboue fiue hundred men, but the theefe could not be found. At night, as we were going to bed, there was an out-cry on a sudden that theeues were on the top of our house, setting it on fire; but our ladders being ready reared, both my selfe and others were not long a going vp, but found nothing, but that all our neighbours houses were peopled on the tops on a sudden, as well as ours. And it is to be thought it was nothing but a false larum, giuen of purpose to see how euery one would be found in a readinesse. Yet at that very instant there was a house set on fire, but soone quenched, it being a good way from our English house.

The night past, three houses were sett on fire in diuers parts of the Towne, but all put out at beginning, so that no hurt was done. So now order is giuen to take notice in euery house what people are in them, whether strangers or others; and such as are found to be suspected are to bee banished out of the Countrey; and gates or bars made to shut vp the passages or ends of streets, and watch set in diuers places, without crying and making a noyse vp and downe streetes in the night, as hath been for a time heretofore without either forme or fashion. Yet notwithstanding all this, a villaine, about tenne a clocke in the night, set a house on fire neare vnto the Pagod, ouer against our English house; but he was espied by the watch, who pursued him with all speed, but he got into the wood aboue the Pagod, which forthwith was beset round about with aboue fiue hundred armed men, and the old King Foyne came in person with many other Noble men, [and] assisted in the pursuit. Yet I verily thinke the villaine did

runne vp and downe amongst the rest, crying, Keepe theefe, as well as the best.

The fourth [November] the night past, there was fire put in diuers places more, one in the Towne and an other in the Countrey, besides the house neere ours, as I said before. Order is now giuen to haue secret watch in diuers parts of the Towne euery night, and no man to goe out in the night except vpon vrgent occasion, and then to haue a light before them, to the end they may bee seene. If this decorum be duly kept, our House burners will play least in sight. I told the Kings and others hereof aboue a weeke past, and now it is put in execution.

The fifth [November] this morning I receiued two Letters, the one from Domingo Francisco the Spanish Ambassadour, dated in Ximonaseque fiue dayes past, and the other from George the Portugall. The Ambassadour went ouer Land from thence for Langasaque, and sent his Seruant with the letters, vnto whom I showed such Commodities as he enquired for, and referred him off for others till our Generals returne, writing him a letter in answere of his, the Copie whereof I kept. His man tooke liking of two peeces of fine Semian Chowters, and eight pieces of white Baftas, and paid seuen Tais the piece for Chowters, and two Tais the piece for Baftas. There came a Spanish Frier, or Iesuite, in the Boat with the Ambassadours man, and desired to see our ship, which I willed our Master to let him, and to vse him kindly, which he did. For as the olde saying is, It is good sometimes to hold a Candle to the Deuill, etc. Master Eaton, Harnando and my selfe dined with Vnagense, and were kindly entertayned.

The sixth [November] this day, about ten a clocke, our Generall and all his company arriued heere from the Iapan Court, Master Adams being in company with him. And presently the Generall sent me with Iohn Iapan, our Iurebasso, to visit both the Kings and thanke them for their

kindnesse in so well accommodating him with a Boate, as also for the care they had of the ship and the rest in his absence, and that he would come on the morrow to visit them, beeing now weary of his long Voyage. They tooke this visitation kindly, saying they would be glad to see him at their Houses. Also certaine Merchants of Miaco, which came from Langasaque, came to our English House, and had sight of all our commodities, and amongst the rest, took liking of ten pieces of Cassedy nill, and made price for them at three Tais the piece, which is in all thirtie Tais, and so sent them to their lodging, as other Merchants before had done the like, and so returned mee money to my content; but these sent mee nothing but a Paper, and consigned mee to receiue my money of Semidone, who was newly gone out of Towne on a Voyage, our Generall meeting him on the way. But I returned these Merchants word that I would haue my payment of them, or else my Merchandize backe againe; but they made answere, I should haue neither the one nor the other; neither would the Host of the House where they lodged passe his word for payment, so I was forced to goe to both the Kings to seeke for Iustice, but first sent word aboord that if the Boate of Miaco weighed anchor to goe away, that they should man out the Skiffe, and stay her, which they did, and made her to come to an anchor againe; and in the meane-time I spake to the Kings, but the younger said that Semidone was a man able enough to pay me. And then I answered and asked him, that if Semidone did not, whether he would, and he told me no; and while we were talking of it, old Foyne Same came in and told me he would take order that I should haue content; yet his order had come too late, if our Pinnasse had not stayd them. So in the end the Host where they did lodge passed his word for payment.

Captaine Brower and all his Merchants came to the

English House to visit our Generall, and Nobisana sent him a young Porke for a Present, saying, hee would come himselfe and visit him within a day or two.]

The 7th [November][1] for the most part I spent Complimenting with the King and nobles of this place, and bestowed certane presents vpone them according to the Counterye fashion, as more at large apeares in a Journall written by Mr. Cocks for me. I importuned the ould King for his letter to the King of England, the tyme requiring haste, which he promised should be readye out of hand. I obteyned of him a boate of speede, and sent Mr. Addams in hir to Langasaque to make search for our Runawayes, hauing intellygence that they weare theare, with a present to the Bungio[2] of the Cittye for his fauor and speedye serch of them, but vnderstanding them to be Gone for the Manelyes or Maccaue,[3] to retorne the present againe.

The 8th [November] Mr. Addams departed for Langasaque, Mr. Wickham in companye with him. I promised passage to one George Peeterson, a flushinger,[4] for his Counterye, whoe had serued the Spannyards 24 yeares and hauing well to take to, desired to goe for his counterye; he was a salor and of fare carrage.

The 9th [November] in the morning Palmer and Marrynor hauing layne all night in the felde fought and hurt one the other.

[In the morning very early I went aboord the Ship, and carried M. Cockes along with me, and called the Master and all the Officers into my Cabbin, making it known vnto them that it much grieued me the indirect course some of them tooke, namely, Palmer and Marnell,

[1] Here we resume Saris's own narrative.
[2] Governor. [3] Manila or Macao. [4] See p. 162.

who went out of the Ship without license, and had wounded one an other so sore that the one was in danger of his life, and the other a lame man for euer; and that which was more, the Suruiuer in danger to be hanged if the other died, which could not choose but bee a great hearts griefe vnto me; as also to vnderstand that Francis Williams and Simon Colphax were in the boat, going ashoare to haue fought, and Iohn Dench and Iohn Winston appointed to doe the like. and Dench confessed it was true, and that he saw Palmer and Marnell fighting, and went and parted them, otherwise both had remained dead in the field: these matters I told them, were grieuous vnto me, and therfore I willed them it might be amended in time, otherwise they would dispeople the Ship, to the vtter ouerthrow of our Voyage, and deceiue the Honourable Companie that had put their trust in vs.

After much contestation, each one departed, with promise to amend what was amisse and not to offend in any sort hereafter, which God graunt may prooue true. I told them also, that Foyne Same, the old King, had made complaint vnto me, that if any more came ashoare to fight and shed blood in his Countrey (contrary to his Lawes), he would cause them to be cut in peces, for that he would not suffer strangers to haue more Priuiledge in that matter then his owne Subiects.

And at my returne to the English house, Foyne Same the King came to visit me, and told mee the piece of Poldauis and a Shash I gaue him were consumed with fire when his house was burned, which was a manner of begging two more, which I promised him; and got him to send of his people aboord, with my Iurebasso Iohn Iapan, to signifie to the Company, that if any of them came ashoare to fight any more, the King had giuen order to cut them in pieces, and not to suffer any one to returne aboord. I did this in hope to restraine them from such drunken Combats.

Towards night came a Spaniard from Langasaque, called Iohn Comas, and brought two letters from Domingo Francisco, one for me, and the other for M. Cockes, and sent me a Present of three baskets of Sugar, and a pot of Conserues, with many no lesse sugred conserued words of complement in his Letters, that he was sorie that our seuen men were gone awaye in his absence, excusing both himselfe and the Fathers or Iesuites, that they had no hand in the matter, neither euer spoke such word that we were heretikes or theeues, yet said our men were gone away from thence, three of them in a China or Iapan Soma for the Manillias, and the other foure in a Portugall Vessell; but I hold these but words to excuse themselues, and put other men in fault: for the Spaniards love not the Portugals, neither either of both the Iapan, much less the Iapan them.]

I writ a letter by Melser van Samford to Lucas Antonyson at Syam, the Coppie whereof is extant.[1]

The 10th and 11th [November] nothing of worth; only the Emperors present to the King of England was laden aboard, being 10 Beobes or pictures after the counterye fashion.

[The eleuenth [November], I went and visited Nobesane; he vsed me kindly, and would haue had mee come to dinner to-morrow, but I excused the matter, in respect of the much businesse I had, and short time of stay. I met the old King Foyne at his house, who desired to haue two peeces English poudred Beefe, and two of Porke sod with Turnips, Raddish and Onions by our Cooke, and sent vnto him, which I caused to be done. Wind Northerly, a fresh gale day and night; faire dry weather, but cold.]

The 12th [November] Mr. Addams retorned without our Fuiatiues, they being not long before gone for the phillip-

[1] Not now forthcoming.

penas and mackcaue in the Spannyards and portingale shipps.

[The two Kings Gouernours came to visit me at the English house; and from thence went abord the Cloue (Master Cockes accompanying them) to signifie vnto the Master and the rest of the Companie, that from hence-forward our ships Companie should haue a care how they came ashore to fight and shed blood; for that the Law of the Countrey was that they which went out to fight, and drew weapon, were to die the death, and all those which did behold them, obliged to kill both parties, in paine of ruinating all their generation if they did not kill both parties.]

The 13th [November] there hapned nothing.

The 14th [November] it was certanely proued that Mr. Addams his man, which was our Jurebassa and Cater for the howse, did most vnresonably cozen vs, and in one parcell of wyne bought for the howse gott 21 masse.

[I sent M. Cockes and my Iurebasso to both the Kings, to entreat them to prouide me of a dozen Sea-men, that were able to doe their labour, to goe with me for England, and for wages I was willing to giue them what in reason their Highnesses thought fit. The Kings were impeached[1] about others matters; so they spake with their Secretaries, who told them they need not to speake about that matter to the Kings, for that they would prouide mee a dozen such as should be fit; but that there were diuers vagrant people about Towne, which no doubt would be willing to goe, yet were not fit to be carried to Sea; for that when they came there, they would serue for nothing but to spend victuals, and of such the Flemmings serued their turne without making request vnto them; and what is become of them or the Ship is not known to this day. But seeing

[1] Hindered.

that now the matter was referred to them, they would looke out for such as were for our purpose.]

The 15th [November] in frindly mannor I acquanted Mr. Addams, in the presents of Mr. Cocks, of his mans dishonnest and villanus dealing, being put in trust and to cheate vs so vnresonable. He tooke it verye evell that his seruant should be so thought of, and so hiely took his part as by the perswatyon of Mr. Cocks I did not saie further, but gaue order to Mr. Cocks to lett him goe no more to markett for vs. This not being the first by manye tymes, as Mr. Cocks tells me, he hath found him fautye therein.

The 16th [November] there passed nothing worth writinge.

The 17th [November] George Peeterson the Flushinger did willingly exchange with Mr. Cocks 2120 Tayes Iapan monye for Royalls, the taye rated at 10 masse and the Royall at 8 masse, which saued the Companye 5 per cent. And Mr. Cocks Cleered with Mr. Addams for monyes lett[1] vs vpone the waye, and marchandyes bought at Oronggaue,[2] in Japan quoyne[3] as we receaued it of him; and as the King had and did since my retorne proffer to lend me monye at the same rate, yet he tooke it not well that he was not paid in Royalls and allowed 5 per cent exchange, which I held vnreasonable, The King demaunding no profitt nether the Fleming, and the Barrs as good and better siluer then those we had of him.[4]

[The eighteenth [November] Foyne, the old King, sent me word he would come and visit me, and bring the dancing Beares or Curtesans of the Countrey, which soone after he did, being three whoores of the Countrey, and two or three other men with them, they all dancing and making

[1] A misprint for "lent." [2] Uraga. [3] Coin.
[4] Here the MS. breaks off. The remainder of the journal is taken from Purchas.

musique after the Countrey fashion, although harsh to our hearings.

The nineteenth [November] the Captaine Chinesa and George Duras[1] the Portugall came vnto me, desiring me to send to Semidone, to procure the libertie of two honest poore men, who were like to loose their liues for bidding a poore Knaue flie, which had stolne a little piece of Lead not worth three halfepence, and yet the Malefactor was taken and put to death, and these men in danger to haue done the like, had I not sent M. Cocks with my Ring to Semidone, to desire pardon for them for my sake, which he granted to procure, and did effect it.

The twentieth [November], Samedon,[2] the King of Crats,[3] sent mee word hee would come aboord our Ship. So I met him there, he beeing accompanied with both the Kings of Firando. They had fiue peeces of Ordnance at their entrie aboord, and three with shot or Bullets were shot at a marke at the request of Samedon. He gaue me two Pikes or Iapan staues with Cattans or Sables[4] on the ends ; and so they departed with seuen peeces of Ordnance for a farewell, one being with shot at the marke aforesaid.

The twentie-two [November] a Present was laid out, and sent to Samedon King of Crats. It was deliuered vnto him at Tomesanes[5] the young Kings house, he being there at Breakfast, and tooke in very kind part, sending me word by M. Cockes that he was doubly obliged vnto mee, first

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[1] The "Durois" or "Droit" of Cocks's *Diary* and *Letters*.

[2] Terazawa Shima no kami (Hirotaka), a devoted follower of Hideyoshi, fought in the Corean war. In the civil wars which succeeded the death of Hideyoshi he supported Iyeyasu, and was rewarded with the additional fief of Amakusa, making in all 120,000 koku of lands. He died in 1633. He was Governor of Nagasaki from 1592 to 1602. Amakusa was taken away from his son in consequence of the participation of the islanders in the Shimabara revolt of 1637-8. He committed suicide some years later, and the family became extinct.

[3] Karatsu in Hizen.

[4] Misprint for sabres.

[5] Tonosama, *i.e.*, the lord.

in his kind entertainement aboord, and now in sending him such a Present of worth, of such things as his Countrey affoorded not the like, and all without any desert of his: onely the recompence he could make was, that for his [my ?] sake, if euer any of the English Nation did come within his Dominions, he would bid them kindly welcome, and show them any fauour he could.

The twentie fifth [November] in the morning betimes, the Purser and M. Hownsell came ashoare and told me Andrew Palmer, the Steward, departed out of this world about tenne of the clocke the night past, and that the Chirurgion Thomas Warner affirmed (as he told me the like many times before) that Palmer was the occasion of his owne death, his wound beeing curable, if he would haue bin ruled. I willed the Purser, M. Melsham, to goe aboord, and that the Master and he should take order to carry him and bury him on an Iland as secretly as might be, in respect we were about to get some Iapans to goe along in our ship, which, it might be, hearing of the death of any one would make them the more vnwilling.

The twentie eighth [November] a Iapan was put to death: some said for theft; others said he was a house-burner. He was lead by the Hang-man to execution, one carrying a board before him, wherein was written the fact he had committed, as the like was written in a paper flag ouer his head, and two Pikemen followed him with the points of their Pikes hard to his backe, to haue killed him if he had offered to resist. Diuers of this place complained that the Ships Company owed them money, and, now the Ship was ready to depart, desired payment, which to preuent a greater inconuenience I hearkened vnto, and wrote to the Master to enquire aboord who they were that were indebted, and what the summe was they owed, to the intent to make satisfaction, and so to abate it out of their wages.

Now touching a Factorie to be left there, I had on the

twenty sixth assembled my Merchandizing counsell, where, vpon these considerations, viz: The encouragement wee had receiued in the Moluccas by priuate intelligence; the Dutch Factorie alreadie planted here in Firando: The large Priuiledges now obtained of the Emperour of Iapan: The certaine aduise of the English Factories setled in Siam and Patane; The Commodities resting vnsold vpon our hands appointed for these parts, and the hoped for profit which further experience may produce: It was resolued that a Factorie should be left here, viz. eight English, three Iapan Iurebasses or Interpreters, and two seruants, who were appointed against the comming of the next ships, to search and discover the Coast of Corea, Tushmay,[1] and other parts of Iapan, and Countreys thereunto adioyning, to see what good might be done in any of them.

The fifth of December, M. Richard Cockes, Captaine and Cape Merchant of the English Factorie setled at Firando in Iapan, tooke his leaue of me aboord the Cloue with his Companie, beeing eight English and fiue others. After their departure, our Companie was mustered aboord, finding fortie sixe English, fiue Swarts, fifteene Iapaners,[2] three Passengers, in all sixtie nine: hauing lost since our arriuall here three English, two by sicknesse, one slaine, and seuen which ranne away to the Portugals and Spaniards, whilest I was at the Emperours Court. The names of the English we left in the Factorie with M. Cockes, were William Adams (entertained at an hundred pounds the yeere into the Companies seruice),[3] Tempest

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[1] The island of Tsushima.

[2] Of these, eleven (probably all that survived) were sent back from England in the *Expedition* at the beginning of 1615 (see Peyton's *Journal*: Brit. Mus. *Addl. MS.* 19,276).

[3] For the negotiations with Adams and the agreement entered into by him, see *Letters Received*, vol. i, pp. 310, 324, etc.

Peacocke, Richard Wickham, William Eaton, Walter Carwarden, Edward Sares, William Nelson.[1]

The wind Northerly, a stiffe gale, we set saile, beeing foure leagues from the place where wee rid; our course South by West, halfe a point Westerly, Latitude thirtie three degrees foureteene minutes. Note that, by exact obseruations on the shoare, we found this Iland of Firando to stand in latitude thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, variation two degrees fiftie minutes Easterly.

It was resolued to keepe alongst the Coast of China directly to Bantam, and so wee brought aboord our starboord tacke, and steered away South-west, edging ouer for China; the wind at North North-east, a stiffe gale and faire weather.

The sixth [December], Latitude thirty one degrees thirty nine minutes; way South by West forty leagues.

The seuenth [December] it blew very much wind, a storme at North-west. Wee steered South South-west. No obseruations. There we felt the great Current which shoots out betweene the Iland Corea and the maine of China, which made a very great Sea. Way South South-west halfe point Westerly, twentie fiue leagues.

The eight [December], Latitude twentie nine degrees fortie one minutes; way South-west, twentie sixe leagues; wind North-west a very stiffe gale. We steered West South-west, to make Cape Sumbor[2] vpon the Coast of China. The Sea very much growne; so much wind that it blew our maine course out of the bolt ropes.

The ninth [December] Latitude twentie eight degrees, twentie three minutes; way South-west three quarters

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[1] The instructions left with Cocks by Saris will be found in *Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 4.

[2] According to Linschoten it lies in N. lat. 28° 15′, while Ningpo (Liampo) he places 31° N. lat. The Admiralty Chart, however, gives only 29° 50′ for Ningpo.

Westerly, twentie two leagues and two third parts. We sounded and had fortie nine and fortie fiue fathoms Ozie. The weather cleered and the wind came to the North, but wee could see no land.

The eleuenth [December] no obseruation; way West South-west thirtie fiue leagues; verie greene water. We kept our Leade, and had fortie nine, fortie three, thirtie fiue, thirtie seuen, thirtie fathome; no sight of land, yet very cleere; wind North and North-west by North.

The twelfth [December] before day we sounded, and had thirtie fiue fathome Ozie; wind North, and North-west by North a stiffe gale; and in the morning, esteeming our selues to bee neere the Coast of China, we had sight of (at the least) three hundred sailes of Iunckes of twentie, thirtie, and vpwards tunnes apiece, whereof two came to the wind-ward close by vs, but perceiuing them to be Fishermen, we let them passe, vsing all the faire meanes wee could to get some of them to come aboard, but could not preuayle. Wherefore we stood on our course West by South, and presently descryed the land, being two Ilands called the Ilands of Fishers,[1] bearing West by North halfe a point Northerly, some foure leagues off. Latitude at noone, twentie fiue degrees fiftie nine minutes; way South-west by West fiftie leagues; Depth twentie, and twentie sixe fathome. Soone after, the wind came to North-east. Wee brought our Larboord tacke aboord, and steered alongst the land South South-west, very much wind.

[1] Evidently Saris means the group known as the Pescadores, lying in the Formosa Channel. Captain Ottley, however, writes:—"My opinion is that Saris mistook the name of these Islands; and that they were not the Pescadores—for the latitude of the Pescadores is 23° 40′ N., and we have Saris's sights at noon of the day on which he previously had 'descried the two Ilands, Lat. 25° 59′ N.,' which places him at least 100 miles to the Northward of the Pescadores. By dead reckoning also he could not have made enough southing to be off the Pescadores. All the evidence seems to be in favour of the 'two Ilands, being in the Alligator, etc., Group; latitude about 25° 25′."

About seuen at night we came faire by a Rocke, which, by Gods mercie, wee descryed by Moone-light, and lay right in our course; supposing to haue runne from noone to this time twelue leagues. We were within twice our ships length of the Rocke, depth thirtie fathome. Then we haled off South one watch to giue the land a berth, and after mid-night steered South-west, the wind at North-east very much wind, and continually following vs as the Land trents.[1]

The thirteenth [December] Latitude twentie foure degrees thirtie fiue minutes, variation one degree, thirty minutes Easterly; way South-west fiftie foure leagues; wind at North-east, faire weather. We steered South-west, keeping faire by the Ilands lying alongst the maine of China, some fiue leagues off; much wind.

The fourteenth [December] in the morning little wind; hauing this night past had twelue and fourteene fathome, then stood off into deeper water. Latitude at noone twentie two degrees ten minutes; way South-west by South one quarter Westerly, fortie two leagues; wind at East North-east. And at eight at night we had fifteene, thirteene fathome, at nine a clocke sixteene, twentie seuen, twentie one and twentie fiue, sandie ground.

The fifteenth [December] in the morning we came amongst many Fisher-boates, but had so much wind as that we could not speake with them. They made signes to vs to keepe vp to the West-ward (as we thought.) Our sounding the last night to this present was twentie, twentie foure, twentie fiue, twentie fathomes, three leagues off the land. Latitude at noone, twentie one degrees, fortie minutes; way West South-west one quarter Southerly, fiftie two leagues. The wind at North North-east, a stiffe gale. We steered in West North-west Northerly to make

[1] Trends.

the land, and about two houres after had sight of it, but by reckoning should not haue beene neere it by fiftie sixe leagues, so that the distance from Firando hither is lesse by fiftie sixe leagues.

Note that the Ilands which lye alongst the Coast of China, lye more Southerly then in the plats. About three in the after-noone wee were by an Iland called Sancha,[1] about two leagues off. We steered South-west alongst the land, esteeming to haue runne since noone three leagues West North-west.

The sixteenth [December] at noone no obseruation ; way fortie leagues, South-west by South one quarter Westerly ; wind at East with drisling raine.

The seuenteenth [December] Latitude eighteene degrees nineteene minutes ; course South-west by South one quarter Westerly fortie seuen leagues ; wind at East ; variation fiftie minutes Westerly. We sounded, but had no ground.

The eighteenth [December] latitude fifteene degrees fortie three minutes ; course South-west by South sixtie leagues ; wind at East a stiffe gale. And at fiue at night wee had sight of land, beeing an Iland called Pulo Cotan,[2] bearing West South-west, about fiue leagues off, wee steering South-west. This Iland is high land, and lyeth about twentie leagues (by report) from the shoale called Plaxel,[3] to the West-ward of it. We sounded about eight of the clocke, but had no ground.

The nineteenth [December] in the morning, the maine of Camboia[4] was on our star-boord-side about two leagues off. We steered alongst South by East Easterly, keeping the maine in sight. Latitude at noone, thirteene degrees

[1] Sanchoan in Linschoten's map ; also spelt Sancian, but more properly Shangch'uan.

[2] Cotam in Linschoten's map.

[3] The Paracels ; I. de Pracel in Linschoten's map.

[4] Cambodia, *i.e.*, Annam and Cochin-China.

one and thirtie minutes; way South by West fortie foure leagues. Wee steered alongst South South-west, making account to bee athwart a Varella;[1] keeping about two leagues off the shoare. We sounded but had no ground at fiftie fathome. Note that this land of Camboia lyeth more Easterly in our plats then it should; for wee find South South-west to goe alongst the land a faire berth off, so that the land heere lyeth South South-west and North North-east, hauing diuers Rockes like Ilands, some one league, some league and an halfe off the maine, but otherwise no danger that we could see. Note also that heere wee found the windes trade alongst the shoare, for from Firando hither we did goe large, finding the wind to follow vs as the land trents.

The twentieth [December] Latitude ten degrees fiftie three minutes; course South by West fiftie foure leagues; wind at North, a stiffe gale alongst the shoare. And three Glasses after we had obserued, wee had sight of a small Iland, which wee made to be the Iland at the end of the shoale, called Pulo Citi;[2] and at fiue Glasses running we sounded and had eleuen fathome, fine sand, two leagues off the shoare. We steered alongst Southwest to bring the point of the shoale called Pulo Citi a starne; then wee sounded about two Glasses after, and had fifteene fathome. Note that wee found Ian Huijghen Van Linschotens booke very true, for thereby we directed our selues from our setting forth from Firando.

The one and twentieth [December] Latitude nine degrees fortie three minutes; course South-west a quarter Westerly, thirtie-four leagues; wind at East North-east, a

[1] Auarella in Linschoten's map, now called Cape Varella. This word is applied by old Portuguese writers to the pagodas of China and Indo-China (Yule and Burnell, *s.v.*). Cape Varella lies in N. lat. 12° 49′.

[2] Pulo Citi is Pulo Cecir in Linschoten's map, and in the Admiralty Chart, N. lat. 10° 33′.

continuall stiffe gale till noone, then calme, and found that we were in a tyde girt.[1] Our depth all the last night to this noone was ten, sixteene, seuenteene, eighteene, twentie one, twentie one, nineteene, twentie, twentie, nineteene, eighteene fathome good ground, but had no sight of land.

The two and twentieth [December] in the morning, we had sight of land being an Iland called Pulo Condor,[2] bearing off vs about fiue leagues off. We steered South-west, the wind at North-east; latitude at noone eight degrees, twentie minutes; way South-west by West, fortie leagues and two third parts. Depth eighteen, nineteene, twentie two, twentie one, twentie one, twentie two and twentie one fathomes. We steered South South-west, for the land called the seuen Points.[3]

The three and twentieth [December], no obseruing; way South-west by South one quarter Southerly, fiftie one leagues; depth twentie, twentie two, twentie foure, and at noone twentie seuen fathomes.

The four and twentieth [December] way South-west halfe a point Westerly, thirty three leagues one third part; wind at North-west by North; depth thirtie seuen, thirtie nine, fortie three, fortie, and at noone thirtie fiue fathome, Ozie ground.

The fiue and twentieth [December], latitude two degrees, thirtie eight minutes; course South by East, one quarter of a league Easterly, twentie two leagues one third part; the wind at North-west and East by North; Depth, thirtie foure, thirtie two, thirtie, thirtie foure, thirtie foure, thirtie foure, thirtie fiue. And about foure a clocke in the morning we made the land, beeing an Iland called Pulo Timon[4] distant from vs some fiue leagues. And at sixe in the

[1] Tide race. [2] Off the mouth of the Mekong River.
[3] ? The Seven Islands north of Banka Strait.
[4] Pulo Timaõ in Linschoten's map, now spelt Tioman. In the Admiralty Chart 2° 47′ north latitude, off the Malay Peninsula, south of Pahang River.

morning, the Northermost part bearing South-west Westerly, and the South part South South-west halfe a point Westerly, we had sight of another Iland called Pulo Tinga,[1] bearing South South-west Westerly, about sixe leagues off at noone.

The sixe and twentieth [December], Latitude one degree eighteene minutes; course South-east by South, thirtie two leagues; wind at East and East by North; Depth thirtie seuen, thirtie sixe, thirtie seuen, thirtie fiue, thirtie, and twentie seuen fathome.

The seuen and twentieth [December] course South by East fortie leagues and two third parts; Depth, twentie seuen, thirtie one, twentie eight, twentie nine, twentie eight, twentie sixe, and twentie foure fathomes at noone.

The eight and twentieth [December] way South South-east, fortie leagues and two third parts; Depth eighteene, nineteene, sixteene, eighteene, nineteene, sixteene, and at noone fifteene fathome sandie ground; making account that China-bata[2] was about one league and an halfe of[f] being low land, and at the South-west point full of Trees or Bushes. At sixe Glasses after-noone wee sounded, and had twentie fathomes, Ozie ground, steering alongst the Land South South-east, the wind at North North-west. Note that those long Ilands on our star-boord-side heere and diuers small Ilands on our Lar-boord-side doe make the Straights of China-bata, finding it to bee truely laid downe in [the] Plat or Draught made by Ian Ianson Mole[3] a Hollander, which he gaue to Master Hippon,[4] and he to the Companie.

[1] Modern spelling Pulo Tingy, or Tingi, in north latitude 2° 17′.

[2] China-bata, or Pulo-bato, in the strait between Banka and Billiton.

[3] Cp. *Letters Received*, vol. i, p. 8. Jan Jansz Mol, captain of the *Gueldres*, distinguished himself at the capture of the Portuguese fort on Tidore, at which Sir Henry Middleton was present as a spectator; see Introduction.

[4] Anthony Hippon, captain of the *Globe* in the Seventh Voyage.

The nine and twentieth [December], a little before noone, we perceiued the water to bee much changed ahead, and therefore doubted it to bee a shoale ; so narrowly escaping a very great danger. Wee sounded and had eleuen, twelue, fourteene, fifteene fathome, but within halfe a Glasse had eight and seuen fathomes and a halfe; it seemed three square sharp to the South-west-ward, and so we steered when we had first sight thereof, not farre from the entrance of the straits of China-bata.[1] This shoale lyeth very dangerously, but is truly placed with his depths. Latitude at noone, foure degrees sixe minutes ; course South by West thirtie leagues ; wind at North-west and North ; depth twentie, thirteene, fifteene, twentie foure, twentie seuen, twentie, twentie fiue, twentie, eighteene, ten, ten, ten, eight and ten fathomes, soft sand. And at eight a clocke in the night we came to an anchor in seuen fathomes, the weather likely to bee fowle and our experience little or nothing, the place verie full of shoales, and before our anchor was a ground wee were in sixe, sixe and a quarter, fiue and a halfe, sixe, and then in seuen fathomes, soft sandie ground ; then wind at North-west, a small gale, and rainie.

The thirtieth [December], this morning we had sight of the Darling,[2] plying for Coromandell, her Companie one and twentie English, and nine Swarts. By them wee first vnderstood of the death of Sir Henrie Middleton, and losse of the Trades Increase, etc. The weather close, wee obserued not: way South South-west halfe a point Westerly fifteene leagues ; depth, ten, thirteene, fourteene eleuen, ten, nine, eight, seuen, sixe and an halfe, ten, ten, sixe and a halfe, seuen, fiue, foure and an halfe, foure and a quarter, fiue, fiue and foure fathome, hard sandie ground,

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[1] "This shoal is at the southern end of Banka Strait, and is a dangerous obstruction to the channel" (note by Captain Ottley).

[2] One of the ships of the Sixth Voyage, under Sir Henry Middleton. She had left Bantam on the 10th (see *Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 14).

esteeming this the shoale described in Moles Plat, and not that which we made it for. This night God mercifully deliuered vs out of a great danger. For we passed by a sunken ledge of Rockes,[1] vnder all our sayles, within a stones cast of the top thereof, which was onely seene aboue water, and, had not the noyse of the breach vpon it wakened vs, wee could not haue cleered our selues. Wee did let fall our anchor presently, being in a great Tide girt, and had seuenteene, seuenteene fathomes and an halfe, Ozie ground.

The one and thirtieth [December], in the morning as we rid, the high land of Sumatra was about [*blank*] leagues off vs, and one Iland a starne. The passed shoale or ledge of Rockes on the star-boord side, and three small Ilands on our lar-boord bow, lying three square: way South three quarters Easterly, one and twentie leagues; wind at North-west. Depth, ten, nine, eight, seuen, nine, ten, eleuen, twelue, fifteene, twentie two fathome, about eight leagues off the high-land of Iaua. We could not get in, because it fell calme.

The first of Ianuary [1613-14] beeing calme, was most spent at an anchor.

The second [January], hauing a little wind we set saile, and about eight of the clocke met with the Expedition,[2]

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[1] "The entire channel is much studded hereabout with such rocks, and a lighthouse is now placed on one of them (note by Captain Ottley).

[2] She set sail from Bantam, under Captain Newport, on January 2nd (*Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 14). The journal of Walter Peyton, master of the ship, is printed in *Purchase His Pilgrimes* (vol. i, p. 488), and there we read, under date of January 2nd: "this day, as we were going out by Pulo Pan Ian, wee met with Generall Saris in the *Cloaue*, come from Iapan; for whose letters, and the deliuery of foure chests, the Captaine cast anchor againe. Also we spared him two of our men, namely, Mortimer Prittie, Yonker, and Thomas Valens, one of our Carpenters Mates, whereof they stood much in need, for they had not one Carpenter left aliue. Thus hauing also dispatched these businesses with the *Cloaue*, we set saile once againe for England, on the fourth of this present."

LINSCHOTEN'S MAP OF THE EASTERN SEAS.

Merchants hauing prouided none aforehand, I might be assured it would rise. He said it was then at twelue Rials of eight the ten sackes, but he would not vndertake to deliuer any quantitie at that price. I offered him twelue Rials and an halfe for ten sackes, but found him so farre off as that there was no hope of dealing at the present.

Note, that of the ten left in the Factorie heere for the eight[h] Voyage at our departure for Iapan, we found now but fiue liuing at our returne. Betweene Firando and Bantam wee lost only one.

The fourth [January] in the morning I went ashoare, visited the Gouernour of Bantam, and presented him with two faire Cattans and diuers other things of worth.

This day I bargained with Kewee and Lackmoye for foure thousand sackes of Pepper, at thirteene Rials of eight the ten sackes: Basse[1] three the hundred, and appointed the Merchants to hasten the milling thereof all that might be.

The fifth [January] was spent in reducing the seuerall English Factories in Bantam to one Gouernment, and setling them in one house; also order was taken that the expence of Dyet should bee more frugally managed, and not spent in racke houses abroad, or on Hang-by Swarts at home, as of late it had beene; and that the Ware-houses in the Towne should be fewer in number and better looked vnto, as well it might be, the goods being with more discretion orderly stowed.[2]

The sixth [January], in the reweighing of the Pepper receiued the day before, wee found most of the sackes hard weight, and many to want of what the Kings Beame did allow. Wherefore I sent for the Weigher, vsed him kindly,

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[1] Allowance (see p. 214).

[2] Cp. Jourdain's letter sent home by the *Clove*, printed in *Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 14.

intreated him to take a little more care and paines to amend this fault, which he promised to doe; whereto the better to incourage him, I appointed the value of fiue Rials of eight to be giuen him.

The sixteenth [January], being the Sabbath day, I stayed aboord. About two of the clocke in the afternoone the Towne was all on a fire. Wherefore our Skiffe being well manned was presently sent ashoare to helpe the Merchants to guard the goods. The wind was so violent that in a moment of time almost the whole towne was burnt downe, the English and Dutch houses excepted, which it pleased God of his mercy to preserue.

The twentieth [January], being ashoare, I procured Lackmoy and Lanching, two Chinesa Merchants, to translate the Letter which the King of Firando in Iapan had deliuered mee to carry to our King Iames. It was written in China Character and Language; they translated it into the Malayan, which in English is as followeth, viz.

To the King of Great Britaine, etc.

Most mightie King, how acceptable your Maiesties louing Letter and bountifull Present of many worthy things sent mee by your seruant Captaine Iohn Saris is vnto mee, I cannot sufficiently expresse; neither the great happinesse I esteeme my selfe to be in, by enioying your Highnesse friendship, For which I render you many thankes, desiring the continuance of your Maiesties loue and acquaintance. I am heartily glad of your subiects safe arriuall at my small Iland from so long a iourney. My helpe and furtherance they shall not want to the vttermost, for the effecting of their so worthy and laudable enterprises of Discouery and Merchandizing, greatly commending their forwardnesse therein; referring their hitherto entertainment to the report of your seruant, by whom I returne vnto your Maiestie an vnworthy token, wishing your Maiestie long life. From my P[a]lace of Firando, the sixt day of our tenth moneth.

Your Maiesties louing Friend,
Commander of this Iland,
Firando in Iapan,

Foyne Sam-Masam.

They could not well pronounce his name, for Lanching said it was Foyne Foshin Sama, But Lackmoy said as is aboue written.[1]

The two and twentieth [January], such houses as the fire had spared were now burnt downe; yet the English and Dutch houses escaped againe, thankes be to God.

The sixe and twentieth [January], heere arriued a Flemmish shippe of a thousand tunnes from Holland, called the Flushing. At the Island Mayo[2] the Companie had mutined against the Captaine, and had murthered him in his Cabbin, but that it pleased God a Scotch-man reuealed the matter, euen when they were armed to the exployt, so that they were taken betwixt the deckes with their weapons about them. In this shippe were diuers English and Scottish souldiers. Shee stayed not heere, but towards euening set saile for Iaccatra.

The seuen and twentieth [January], I went ashoare to hasten the Merchants, diuers of our Company being at this present fallen sicke. Our ship had now her full lading in.

The first of February, the Darling[3] was enforced to returne hither, and order by common councell was taken, both

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[1] "This comes to passe by the China Characters, which in proper names borrow the Characters of other words of like or nearest sound, and therfore cause after mistaking, as Ioseph Acosta hath obserued." —*Marginal note by Purchas.* It will be seen that in Saris's letter from Plymouth (*infra*, p. 209) he says, "the Kinge is called Foyne Sama or Foyne Foshin;" which suggests that Sam-masam is a misprint for Sama. But Hōin would certainly not use this word in signing his letter. No Japanese, of whatever rank, would ever speak or write his name with Sama (which may be rendered Master or Mr.) after it. The copy of the original letter, preserved in the Historiographical Section of the Imperial University at Tōkiō, is signed simply Hōin. Another name, which he assumed when he became a monk (see note on p. 79), was Sō-shin. Is it possible that he signed Hō-in Sō-shin, and that the *S* was misread as *F* by the copyist who furnished the printer's MS. to Purchas; and also by the copyist who wrote out the MS., preserved at the India Office, from which this letter is reproduced?

[2] Isla de Mayo, one of the Cape Verde Islands.

[3] See p. 191; also *Letters Received*, vol. ii, p. 16.

for her goods and present sending to Socadanna, and after to Patane and Siam.

The thirteenth day [January], we got out of the Straights of Sunda. Note that in the Straight of Sunda the Tides set twelue houres to the Eastward, which is floud, and twelue houres to the Westward, which is ebbe.

The sixteenth of May, 1614, we came to an anchor in the Bay of Saldania,[1] where wee found the Concord of London, being the first that was set out for the ioynt stocke.[2] We found the Naturalls of this place very treacherous at the present, making signes vnto vs of the forcible carrying away of two of their people. They had wounded one of the Concords men very sore; and whilst we were vp in the Land, they did assault those that kept our Skiffe, carried away our Grapnell, and had spoiled those that were left to tend her, but that they tooke the water.

The nineteenth [May], heere arriued a Flemmish shippe bound for Bantam, the Master, Cornelis Van Harte. We remained heere three and twentie dayes, and hauing well refreshed our selues, tooke with vs fourteene Oxen and seuentie sheepe aliue, besides good store of Fish and Beefe, which we powdered there, finding it to take salt well, contrary to former reports.

For ten days after our departing from Saldania, we had the wind at North-west and West North-west, but then came to South-west, so that we might goe our course North-west.

The seuen and twentieth of September we arriued, thankes be to God, at Plimmouth, where for the space of fiue or sixe weekes wee endured more tempestuous weather, and our liues more endangered, then vpon the whole Voyage besides. Since which, hauing had some spare time, I haue

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[1] Table Bay.

[2] See *Letters Received*, vol. ii, Introduction, p. xxiii.

collected certaine notes (in the Iournall omitted) and haue thought good, to cause them heere to attend the former Relation.

Intelligence concerning Yedzo, deliuered in the Citie of Edoo in Iapan, by a Japanner, who had beene there twice.

That Yedzo is an Island, and lyeth on the North-west side of Iapan, and distant from thence ten leagues: That the people are white, and of good condition, but very hairy all their bodies ouer like Munkeyes. Their weapons are bowes and arrowes poysoned. The people in the Southermost part thereof doe vnderstand weight and measure, whereof within the Land thirtie dayes iourney they are ignorant. They haue much siluer and sand-gold, whereof they make payment to the Iapanners for Rice, etc. Rice and Cotton cloath of Iapan is heere well requested. Iron and Lead is brought to them from Iapan. Necessaries for the belly and backe are most vendible to them. Rice transported from Iapan to Yedzo hath yeelded foure for one.

The Towne where the Iapanners haue their chiefe residence and Mart, is called Matchma.[1] Therein are fiue hundred housholds of Iapanners, who likewise haue a Fort there, the Gouernour whereof is called Matchma-donna.[2] This Towne of Matchma is the principall Mart Towne of all Yedzo, whither the Natiues most resort to buy and sell, especially in September, for their prouision for winter. In March they bring downe Salmon and dryed

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[1] Matsumae.

[2] Matsumae dono was the ordinary appellation of the *daimiô* of that place.

fish of sundrie sorts, and other wares, for which the Iapanners barter, which the Iapanners rather desire then siluer.

The Iapanners haue no setled being or Trade in any other Towne then Matchma. That further to the Northward vpon the same Land are people of very low stature like Dwarfes. That the Yedzos are people of the stature of the Iapanners; and haue no apparrell, but what is brought them from Iapan. That there setteth a very violent current betweene Yedzo and Iapan, which commeth from Corea, and setteth to the East North-east. That the winds are for the most part as vsually they are in Iapan, viz: That the Northerly winds beginne in September, and end in March, and then the Southerly winds begin to blow.

APPENDIX A.

TWO LETTERS WRITTEN BY SARIS ON HIS RETURN.[1]

I.

A Coppie of a letter sent by Generall Saris, dated the 1th June, 1614, in Soldania baye, to the Captain generall of the English appoynted for Iapan, etc.

WHEARAS by certaine letters from the Companye receaved out of the Concord,[2] thay wright mee of the sendinge of a ship and pinnas for Iapann, with order to touch at Bantam for such directions as I should leaue thear: which tell this present was omitted, for that by the Dragone and Expedition it was said thay would first vnderstand from me what success I had, whearfore I lefte onely with Mr. Ball the Coppie of the Inuentory of goods remayn-

[1] These two letters were found in a note-book kept by Thomas Elkington, now preserved in the I. O. Factory Records (*Miscellaneous*, vol. 25). Elkington was a factor who went out as second in command to Nicholas Downton in the Joint Stock Voyage of 1614. Into his note-book he copied a number of documents which he thought might be use in the voyage, these among the rest.

[2] See p. 197.

inge in the factory settled in Ferando, which be pleased to understande is one of the wester Ilands of Iapan, latt. 33.30mi, vari. 2.50mi Easterly (?). Mr. Richard Cockes cheefe, with seven English more, whear of Mr. Addames is owne [one], who is now the Companyes servant. I haue obtained large priuilidges of the Emperor for trade, as per certaine articles vnder his broad seale. Our vsage hath bine goode ; and I hope the trade wilbe no less. Our Custome inwards and outwards to any parte of his Empier Free. Rialls is not ther requested, the country afordinge much siluer, which must be your principall retorne. And it [is ?] to be procured by China silkes Lankin :[1] Canton Taffaties : Sattines : fine Sleaue :[2] drudgs of all sortes : pepper : Syam leather of all sortes, with redd wood like Brassill of the same place, well requested and will vent in great quantiti : Steele in gadds[3] or barrs, the Emperor would take for 100 Tonns, which may be had at musalapatan veary cheape : yf the Globe or James have brought any store, it wilbe fitting you take it with you ; broad cloths, stametts, browne, Blewes, violetts and blackes, will sell at 15 or 16 Tayes the matt, which is little more then 2 yards ; the Taye of 5*s.* ; thay have noe great vnderstandinge in the choise of Cloth, but the nearer it is shorne the better it will vent : Elliphants Teeth wilbe better bartered with the Chinaces then put away ther : lead in Barrs and great Ordnance will sell to good rates : Gusuratt Cloth, viz. Ceetes,[4] pintados, Pramport[5] and Dutties of 5 rials per corge is well requested. I would not wish you to take in any pepper or China wares at Bantam, yf you com

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[1] Nanking. [2] Floss silk.

[3] Or gad, a bar of metal, especially of iron or steel. "Short pieces of an inch or two inches long ;" "a Gad of steel, about eight or ten inches long" (*A New English Dictionary*).

[4] Chintz.

[5] A corruption of Byrampaut (see Byrammes, note p. 5).

tyme enough to recover patanie and Syam by the beginninge of February, for at those portes you shall meete the China Iunckes, whear you shall have greater trade, b[u]y much Cheaper, paye less Custom; the pepper farr fayrer, and be in the way of the monsoone in the fine[1] of Aprill, to carry you for Japann afore the wind; from eather of which portes the voyadge is vsually made in 20 or 24 daies at most. Besides it is a temperatt place for your people, all things very plentifull, and our nation resident in each place.

Captain Cockes had order to dispach away a Iuncke from Nangasaque, whearof Mr. Addames is Master, for Syam in March last, and in Iune or Iuly is to retorne for Ferando againe with the Comodities aforesaid, which is in very great request. It wilbe fitting the greater ship goe for Syam, for that the wood will take a great bolke; and the smaller for Patanie to take in pepper and silkes. I haue a sample of the wood which I carried for England, but hould it needfull to sende backe againe parte therof vnto you, Mr. Lucas Antonyson or any of the Factors ther being able to acquaint you therwith: also with the skines I meane. I doubt me it is not true Brassell, but rather a wood Called Cayoulatta,[2] which the China Iunckes carry much therof from Bantam, and was worth 4 or 5*s.* the pecull ther at my tyme. And having Converted your goods into siluer, which disbursed in China silkes, Beniamine and spice for England, no doubt will make a proffitable voyadge. Some Iapan wares, as ritch Scritiories: Trunckes, Beoubes,[3] Cupps and Dishes of all sorts, and of a most excelent varnish, I haue in the ship; But tell sale be made I cann giue you no great Incouradgment to deale therin, yett for 100[4] or 2000 Rialls cannot be amiss att returne.

[1] End.
[2] See p. 211.
[3] See note on p. 135.
[4] 1000 (?).

I had laden my ship with cloues at the Mollucoes, but that the Flemings with force so ouercharged me both by land and sea as the naturalls could no waye come to vs with ther spice, albeit thay wear more willing wee should haue it then thay, yett som fewe I had, and put off good store of Guguratt Cloth at good rates for rialls at a place called Tahanny in the Iland of Malkian,[1] beinge one the south side, lattitude 00. 26m, variation 3. 28m westerly, whear the Fleminge hath noe fort. The Cheefe, whose name is Key Malladia, vsed mee so well, as had I had but the Companye of another ship, he protested to reuolte, and with ther owne people in 4 or 5 dayes to sett us a fort, with promise neauer to forsake us, so our nation, who thay wear much affected vnto, would protect them. I aquaint you hearwith, that yf the monsone will not permit the former course, then yf you please, etc. I went to Iapann by the waye to the Estwards of the Phillipinas, finding it a very open sea, and not seeing any land tell in 25. 30m, but returned by the Coast of China, which is very bould, seeinge no danger but what proiectes it selfe. And thus desiering god to giue a blessing to all our indeavors, I rest.

II.

The Coppie of a letter concerninge comodities both English and others vendible in Iapann, with the seauerall prices of the same, written by Captain Iohn Saris and sent from Plymouth vnto the East India Companie in London, dated aboard the Cloue the 17th *October*, 1614.

And Concerninge requestible Comodities vendible in Iapann[2] togeather with ther Currant prices in masses[3]

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[1] Makyan.

[2] Cp. Appendix B (p. 212).

[3] See note on p. 97.

(each beinge *6d.* sterling), I haue thought good to make you aquaynted and to specifie the particulers thereof, viz.

Broad Cloth of all sortes, viz. blackes, yellowes, redds, browne, blewes, stametts, the matt (which is two yards) from 3, 4, to 500 *mass.*

But thay must be low shorne, elce thay ar not so vendible. Bayes,[1] fine, of the foresaid Collors, and well Cottoned,[2] in good request. Rashet Boratts,[3] single and duble: silke grograines,[4] Turkey grograines, Chambletts,[5] velluetts, Sattines, Taffaties, Damaskes, the better wrought with branches and figures the more requested. Holland Cloth, from *2s. 6d.* to *3s. 4d.* the yard, and not aboue that price. Dyaper. Damaske lynnen. Threed of all Collors. Carpetts for Tables. Muske, worth the wayght in Siluer. Guzuratt Cloth. Leather guilded, painted with pictures and flowers, the smalest worke best.

	mass.
Pictures paynted, som laciuious, others of stories of warrs by sea and land, the larger the better, from- -	2 to 300
Quicksiluer, the 100 Cattees, each Cattee being 1¼ li., from	3 to 400
Vermillion, the 100 Cattees from - - -	3 to 600
Payntinge for womens faces - - -	0 to 028
Copper in plates 125 li. waight, woorth from -	90 to 100
Lead in small barrs, the 100 Cattees, from - -	60 to 088
Lead in sheetes, the thinner the better, the 100 li. -	0 to 080
Tynn, in loggs fine, 120 li. worth - - -	0 to 350
Iron - - - - - -	2 to 004
Steele, the 100 Cattees, from - - -	1 to 200
Syuett, the Cattee, being 20 oz., from - - -	150 to 200

[1] "Bayes" seems to be baize, coarse woollen stuff; formerly, when made of finer and lighter texture, used as a material for clothing (*A New English Dictionary*, *s.v.* baize).

[2] Cottoned = furnished with a nap (*A New English Dictionary*, *s.v.* cotton).

[3] Burat or Borato, apparently adopted from the Italian *buratto*, "a sort of thin transparent cloth" (*A New English Dictionary*, *s.v.*).

[4] Modern "grogram," a coarse textile fabric formerly in use, made of silk and mohair, afterward of silk and wool (*Century Dictionary*).

[5] An obsolete form of "camlet" (*A New English Dictionary*, *s.v.* camlet).

	mass.
China roote, the 100 Cattees or pecull - -	00 to 040
China sowinge gould, the paper of 5 knottes - -	00 to 003
Powder suger, the 100 Cattees of China, from - -	40 to 050
Suger Candie, the 100 Cattees, from - - -	50 to 060
Velluetts of all Collors of 9 yards longe, from -	120 to 130
Velluetts wrought, of the same lengthes, from - -	180 to 260
Taffaties, all Collors and good silkes, from 24 - -	030 to 040
Sattines, of 9 yards longe, from - - -	080 to 100
Sattines, figured, worth from - - -	120 to 150
Rawe silke, the Cattee 12 li., from - - -	030 to 040
Silke, vntuisted, 28 li., from - - -	035 to 040
Silke, twisted, from - - - -	028 to 040

Drinkinge glasses of all Sortes. Bottles. Canns and Cupps. Trenchers. Platters. Beare glasses. Saltes. Wine glasses. Bekers. Looking glasses guilt, of the larger sortes. Muscouia glasses. Writing table bookes. Paper bookes. Lead to neale[1] potts. Spanish sope, sould for a mass the small Cake.

Amber in Beads, worth - - - -	140 to 160
Spanish leather, Neates leather, with other sortes of leather vsed for gloues, worth 6 - - -	008 to 009
Candaquins of China, worth from - - -	015 to 020
Candaquins of China, blacke, from - -	010 to 015
Wax, for Candles, the 100 Cattees - - -	200 to 250
Huny, the pecull - - - - -	000 to 060
Pepper the pecull, yf ther be not much in towne -	000 to 100
Nuttmedges, the pecull - - - -	000 to 025
Maces not requested.	
Campher of Barrowes[2] or Burneo, the li. - -	250 to 400
Sanders of Soloer,[3] the pecull - - -	000 to 100
Collombacke[4] wood, the best waightie, the li. from 1. 2. -	003 to 500
Elliphants teeth, the greater the better, from 4. 5. 6. -	007 to 800

[1] Same as "anneal," to glaze, to fire.

[2] Baros, a port on the west coast of Sumatra, from which the chief export of Sumatra camphor took place. Also produced in Borneo (see Yule and Burnell *s.v.*).

[3] Sandal wood, ? of Soloer, an island adjacent to Celebes, to the south.

[4] Calumbac, the finest kind of aloes-wood, also called eagle-wood, from the Portuguese *aguila*, a corruption of the Indian word (Yule and Burnell *s.v.* Eagle-wood).

Rhenosseroes hornes, the Cattee - - -	000 to 003
Hartes hornes, guilded, from 3 - - -	004 to 500
Roach Allome,[1] much sought after and requested, from -	003 to 400

Thease seuerall Comodities aboue said wear worth thease prices at my coming to Iapan. And to the ende that prices might not fall, I conferred at first coming with henry browne,[2] Captain of the Flemish factory, acquainting him that my intent was to settle ther, and that I had all the sortes Comodities aboue said, whose valluation I perfectly vnderstood, so that he need nott to suspect me to vndermine him for any directions; but yf he pleased faithfully to accord with me, I would not vndersell him in any thinge, but do my best to auance our Natiue Comodities. He liked well of the motion, and promised to performe the same;[3] yett 2 daies after sould Cloth for 200 mass the matt of 2 yards, for which before I came in hee had refused 350 masse, hoping to glutt the Markett, and to put of his hands what he could, before we had licence to sell; which sudden fall made the naturalls to esteeme the less of our cloth, which before was in far greater request then silke or velluett, and much vsed by the better sorte in vests, coueringe for ther saddles and cases for ther Cattans, etc. But I make no doubt before this Mr. Cockes and the Fleminge ar agreed and haue aduanced the price againe.

Nowe for the Comodities Iapann doth yeald thay ar thease, viz.

	mass.
Hempe, very good, 100 Cattees (125 li.) worth from -	65 to 70
Collors for dyinge blewe allmost as good as Indico, made up in round cakes or peeces and packt 100 cakes in a farthell,[4] the farthell for - - - -	50 to 60

[1] This seems to be the same as "rock-alum," *i.e.*, the massive form of alum, as opposed to foil-alum, the same substance in the form of laminae (Hunter's *Encyclopædic Dictionary*, *s.v.* Rock-alum, and *A New English Dictionary*).

[2] Henrik Brouwer (see p. 81).

[3] See p. 96.

[4] Fardle, or bundle.

	mass.
Dyinge for white turning to redd Collors, made in farthells or balls of 50, gantanges[1] Mallayo from - -	05 to 08
Rice, very white and good, cased,[2] worth the Fardle -	00 to 08
Rice of the worser sorthe, the ball [bale] - -	00 to 07
Brymstone, in great aboundance, the Pecull - -	00 to 07
Saltepeeter, worth the Cattee - - - -	00 to 02
Cotton wooll, the pecull - - - -	00 to 10

Syluer and gould in greate aboundance. The gould as fine as the barbary duckett,[3] but so high priced as little profitt can bee made therby; the siluer is in Barrs, whearof I send you one for a sample, and in my Iudgment yf it wear quined[4] into Rialls, without refininge, thay would pass currant into the Indies.

Ferando is the place whear your factorie is settled, and is one of the western Ilands of Iapan; but ther resteth onely Mr. Cocks and one more. The rest ar disperced abroad to seuerall Ilands, wher after sale of the Cargazon thay carrie out, [they ?] retorne to him and take the like or what elce thay by experience find fittinge, etc.

I vnderstand your ships bound thither ar of 100 tonns apeece. Thay ar very fitting for that busines. And, yf you please, lett ther Cargazons be of the seauerall Comodities before said what you can procure at present; and of the Elliphants teeth good store, which I vnderstand ar much better cheape then at my departur. Broade clothes: 240 haulfe Clothes, which must be delicattly sett out, lowe shorne, well tillited,[5] and packed in thynn sheet lead. The lead will sell there to good proffitt. Lett your

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[1] Gantang, a Malay measure of about a gallon (Yule and Burnell, *s.v.*-ganton).

[2] Taken out of the husk.

[3] Ducat.

[4] Coined.

[5] Wrapped in tillet, a kind of cloth. Cp. Whittock, *Complete Book of Trades*, 1842, p. 246: "the *tillet*, or little cloth used for encasing glazed stuffs, etc., for the foreign markets was the first approach towards pattern floor-cloth painting."

cloathes be from 14 to 20 li., and of the Coullors aforesaid. Four Chests of the greatest amber beads ; the smaller not requested. Six Chests of the largest branched Currall that may be gotten, which, yf the sailers doe nott spoyle your marketts by carr[y]inge the like, will sell to an vnspeakeable proffitt ; it wilbe fittinge that 5 or 6 faire branches well pollished be causd[1] in leather boxes like our Iewellers boxes, lyned with velluett. It will much aduance the sale of the rest.

I wish that thease ships should be so dispatcht as that thay may meete with the China Iunckes to put off ther Elliphants teeth, Currall, Amber, and som of ther broad clothes for raw silke, both of lankinge[2] and Canton, and other such China wares as is aboue said, but raw silkes cheefly ; and better it wear to meete and trade with them at Patania and Syame then at Bantam, for you shall buy cheaper, have more sortes of Comodities, and pay less Custom and be reddie in the fine of Maye to take the first monson and goe for Iapann with ther raw silke, pepper, brassell wood and skinnes.

In the begininge of February the China Iuncks com both to Patania and Syam, so that it wilbe fitt that the one be at Patania to lade raw silke and pepper, which is much fayrer then Bantam pepper, and the other at Syam to lade silkes, brassell wood and skinnes, Comodities which at Iapan will yeald present barrs of siluer and gould. Som rialls thay must haue with them ; for the first to deale with the Chineses 10,000 rialls wilbe sufficient, but hearafter thay shall need none, for Iapan[3] rialls do loose 20 per cento ; for a riall of 8 stand you in 4*s.* 6*d.*, which will yeald ther but 3*s.* 6*d.*, which is 7 mass, that is 25 per cento losse ; but thay allow 5 per cento for the finest of the rialls.

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[1] Cased? [2] Nanking. [3] In Japan?

You shall not need to send any letter to the Emperor, onely to the Kinge of Ferando and his sonne, whome you may includ in one. The Kinge is called Foyne Sama or Foyne Foshin,[1] and his sonne is called Tone Sama; because your factorie is ther, yf you please to send vnto them some small present, for thay haue bine, and ar, very louing vnto our nation: and vowed enimie to the Spaniars and Portingalls; the fittest things for the owld Kinge wilbe a vest of delicatt fine blacke cloth lyned through with blacke coniskinns made sweete; to his sonne a faire headpeec and gorgett, a boxe of all such thinges as ar belonging to a faulconer, quayle calls, a mastife, a watter spaniell, and a faire grayhound. You shall not need to send any linker-boats[2] in your ships to be sett vp ther, for there ar in the Country which serve the merchaunts turnes far better to tranceporte ther goods.

Vitualls ar ther in great plenty and very Cheape. A ship of 200 may be trymed as well in Ferando as in England, for ther ar all things fittinge and cheap. Men you may haue for reasonable hier. The ships must lye 5 mounthes ther before thay cann retorne for Patania or Syam againe; wherfore yf you please to appoint one of them to goe vpone discouery to the northwarde wher is great hope of proffitt to be had, for the Iapanders tranceporte the greatest parte of the Cloth thay buy of vs and the Flemings with the pepper to those parts. And yf you thinke good to appoynt Mr. Addames Captain of the busines, it will stir vp his sperritts, who hath laine frutles ther a longe tyme. I proposed to haue bought a Iunck, and to haue sent him vpone discouery of the Iland called Yedzo in this draught of Iapan which I send you hearwith, and is

[1] See p. 196.

[2] Probably "clinker-built" boats. The Company's ships often carried with them the framework of a vessel, to be put together at the first convenient spot in the Indies.

said to yeald great store of gould, siluer, and rich furrs. The Emperor, vnderstandinge of my determination, liked it so well as he intreated that a man or 2 of his might goe alonge with vs, who should carry his order to his subiects to ayd and assist vs in the busines: but the tyme of the year would not permitt mee. Itt is to be thought that ther is great hope of findinge the norwest passadg that way, and is this year putt in practice by the Flemings yf ther Mullocco busines haue not hindred it.

I make noe doubt but your seruant Edward Sares[1] is by this tyme in Corea, for from Tuschina[2] I appoynted him to goe thither, beinge incouradged by the Chineses that our

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[1] Or Edmund Sayers. Mr. Foster writes concerning him:—"He was probably a distant relative of Captain Saris. His career may be followed in the *Letters Received by the E. I. C.*, and in Cocks's *Diary*. He left Japan when the factory was withdrawn, and reached Bantam in January, 1624. In December, 1624, he was employed as a factor on board the *Anne* (O. C., No. 1124). In November, 1625, that vessel was sent with other ships from Surat to the Persian Gulf, and 'Sares' was named as a member of council for the fleet. The date and place of his death I cannot find. The Court Minutes of January 3rd, 1627, say he died in the *Jonas*, homeward-bound; and those of November 22nd, 1626, speak of him as dying in the Indies. The *Jonas* left Surat in March, 1626, and reached home at the end of October. Ed. Saris had pledged a packet of diamonds to her captain (Goodall) for 90*l.*; and in November, 1626, the latter made them over to the Company on payment of that sum. Saris's 'brother and friends' laid claim to the diamonds, but the Court told them that the deceased was exceedingly in debt to the Company; they promised, however, that if, on making up accounts, there was found to be a surplus, it should be handed over. On January 3rd, 1627, John Saris and Katharine Foster, brother and sister of Edmund Saris, and administrators of his estate, applied again for settlement of their claim, challenging his 'wages after the rate of 40*s.* per month, being, as they pretended, inlarged from 20*s.* per mo. to 40*s.* by Captain Saris at his being at Japan.' The Court denied Captain Saris's power to increase wages, but desired the petitioners to resort to him and obtain a written statement on the point. On the 29th idem, the executors came again, and agreed to waive their demands for increased wages, or for the diamonds, and to accept 100*l.* in full satisfaction of all claims."

"Edmund Saris's journal of his voyage to Siam in the *Sea Adventure*, n 1615-16, is in the I. O. Marine Records (No. xxiv); also his journals of two voyages from Firando to Cochin China (1617-18), with notes of events in Firando from August 23rd, 1618, to January 8th, 1619 (No. xxvi."

[2] The island of Tsushima.

broad cloath was in greater request ther then hear. It is but 50 leagues ouer from Iapann, and from Tuschina much less. I returned by the waye of China, and found it a very bould coaste, and in 25 dayes was at Bantam, where I found your busines very confused, etc.

I haue sent a Iuncke from Iapan to Syam and Patania, wherof Mr. Peacock is Captain and Mr. Addames Master, which in Iuly last I make noe doubt returned againe. S[igno]r Lucas Ant[o][1] was at Syam, and Mr. Denton, who sent of the same brasell wood to Iapan by a dutchman one John Yeonson, but for whose accompt I know not. He said he bargayned with Mr. Lucas to giue him 2 for one 6 mounthes after; it came to 700 li. sterling, and was sould to Brower, Captain of the Dutch, who soulde it the next day in our sightes for reddie siluer.[2]

I desier you to resolue that Iapan will proue by the next returne more profittable to you then it may be you expect; and build vpone this slender aduise, which I att sudden send you, for it is trewe.

I send you hearwith a sample of the wood, which [I] doubt is nott brassell, but a wood called Caullacca;[3] which yf it be so, may be had at Bantam in great quantiti for 1¼ rialls the pecull. The Chinesses buy much therof, which maketh me the rather to thinke it is the same.

Att the Cape bonasperanca I mett with Mr. Haukines and Mr. Boyle in the Concord,[4] by whome I received your letters, and gaue such aduice as the tyme would permitt to the Chiefe of those ships which ar gone out for Iapan.

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[1] *I.e.*, Signor Lucas Antheunis. See p. 98.

[2] See p. 99.

[3] Cayolaque. "*Kayu*" = "wood" in Malay. *Laka* is given in Crawford's *Malay Dictionary* as "the name of a red wood used as incense, *Myristica iners*. In his *Descriptive Dictionary*, however, he calls it the "*Tanarius major;* a tree with a red-coloured wood, a native of Sumatra, used in dyeing and in pharmacy" (Yule and Burnell, *s.v.*).

[4] Cp. p. 200.

APPENDIX B.

OBSERUATIONS OF SARIS ON THE EASTERN TRADE.[1]

Of all the chiefe and principall Townes for Trade in these parts, with their seuerall names and situations, and also what commodities they doe affoord, and what is there desired.

BANTAM, a Towne situate in the Iland of Iaua Maior, standeth in the latitude of sixe degrees to the South of the Equinoctiall, and hath three degrees variation West. To this place is great resort of diuers Nations, in sundrie sorts of commodities. For of it selfe it affoordeth little but victuals, Cotton wooll and Pepper, whereof the quantitie may be at a haruest (which is in the moneth of October) some thirtie or thirtie two thousand sackes, each sacke containing forty nine Cattees and an halfe China, and each Cattee twenty one Rials[2] and an halfe English. A sacke

[1] From *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol. i, p. 390.

[2] The weight of a rial seems here to be taken as (roughly) the equivalent of an ounce avoirdupois. The catty is usually taken at 1⅓ lb., that is, 21⅓ oz.

is called a Timbang,[1] and two Timbanges is one Peecull,[2] three Peeculls is a small Bahar,[3] and foure Peeculls and an halfe a great Bahar, which is foure hundred fortie fiue Cattees and an halfe. Item, there is a Coolack, by the which the Iauanes most commonly deale, because they are not very perfect in the vse of the Beame; it containeth seuen Cattees and a quarter, and seuen Coolackes is a Timbang (water measure) the which is one Cattee and a quarter greater then the Beame (there should be no difference, but that the weigher, which is alwayes a Chinesa, doth giue his Countrimen leaue to get; for according as he fauours, he can fit them with a great or a small measure, at his pleasure). Item, there commeth in the moneths of December and Ianuary to this place, many Iunkes and Prawes laden with Pepper from Cherringin[4] and Iauby,[5] so that in the fine of Ianuary there is alwayes Pepper sufficient to lade three good shippes. Item, the King hath no coine of his owne, but what commeth from China, which is called Cashes, and is made of the drosse of Lead; it is round and thin, with holes to string them on, a thousand Cashes vpon a string, called a Pecoo,[6] which is of diuers value, according as Cashes rise and fall, wherewith they know how to make their accounts, which is as followeth: ten Pecooes is a

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[1] Milburn, vol. ii, p. 354, says, "pepper is sold by the timbang, which is equal to half a Chinese pecul, or 62½ lbs. Dutch. . . . . But the natives not being expert in weighing, a measure called a kulack is used, which contains 7¼ catties; but this depends upon the quality of the pepper, whether light or heavy." *Timbang* is literally "weight." Coolack is Javanese and Sundanese *kulak*, Malay *kulah*, both a liquid and a dry measure.

[2] *Pikul*, to carry on the shoulder at the two ends of a stick; hence a full man's load, 133⅓ lbs.

[3] *Bahara* (a word of Sanskrit origin), a weight of about 150 kilo. This (not the larger, which is used for cloves) is the usual equivalent in the Malacca Straits, viz., 400 lbs. avoirdupois.

[4] Cheribon.

[5] Jambi, in Sumatra.

[6] In Javanese these coins are called *pîchis*; in Malay, *pîtis*; and *paku* (a nail or peg) is the Javanese and Malay equivalent of the word in the text, meaning things fastened together.

Laxsan,[1] ten Laxsanes is a Cattee, ten Cattees is an Vta,[2] ten Vtaes is a Bahar.

Item, you are to vnderstand, there are two manner of wayes of the stringing of Cashes; the one called Chuchuck[3] China, the other Chuchuck Iaua, of which the Iaua is the best; for there should be two hundred Cashes vpon a Tacke,[4] but for the China Tackes you shall find but an hundred and sixtie, or an hundred and seuentie: fiue Tackes should make a Pecoo; so that you lose two hundred Cashes vpon a Pecoo, or an hundred and fiftie, which will rise to a great matter if you deale for much; but by the law of the Countrey they are to be iust a thousand Cashes vpon a string, or to giue Basse, which is allowance.

Item, vpon the departing of the Iunckes, you shall buy thirtie foure and thirtie fiue Pecooes for a Riall, which before the next yeere you may sell for twentie two and twentie for a Riall, so that there is great profit to be made; but the danger of fire is great.

Item, the weight vsed to weigh Bezars,[5] Ciuit[6] and gold,

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[1] This account of the manner in which Chinese cash were reckoned agrees with that given in Milburn, vol. ii, p. 354.

[2] *Utas* is a string and is used as a numeral in association with chains, cables, necklaces, etc.

[3] *Chúchuk*, to pierce, and so a *piercing*, or a string of.

[4] This seems but a translation of *paku*, which is a nail or peg, but apparently applied to a smaller number than *pecoo* or *paku*.

[5] Bezoar. Milburn, vol. i, p. 135, says: "This medicinal stone . . . . grows in the stomach of an animal of the goat kind, inhabiting the mountains in various parts of Persia and India . . . . The genuine Oriental bezoar is commonly of an oval form, and between the size of a hazel nut and a walnut; if larger, it is more valuable; if smaller, of little value. This stone is externally smooth and glossy, and composed of several shining coats, like an onion, enclosing either a powdery substance, or a nucleus, round which they are formed. The colour most valued is a shining olive, or dark green; but there are some whitish, some grey, and some of a dull yellow. Purchasers should be careful in chusing this drug. The real bezoar has little smell, and no taste" (see also Yule and Burnell on "Bezoar").

[6] "This substance is soft, unctuous and odoriferous, nearly the consistence of butter, and is produced by an animal called the Civet Cat.

is called a Taile,[1] which is two Rialls of eight and a quarter, or two ounces English. Item, a Mallaya Taile is one Riall of eight and a halfe, or one ounce and one third part English. Item, a Taile China is $1\frac{5}{10}$ Riall of eight, or one ounce and one fift part English, so that ten Tailes China is sixe Tailes Iaua exactly.

Item, the English commodities vendible heere are as followeth: English Iron, long and thinne barres, sixe Rials the Peecull. Lead, in small pigges, for fiue and twentie or sixe and twentie peeces, fiue Rialls and a halfe the Peecull. Powder, fine round cornd, the barrell fiue and twentie Rials. Peeces square, sanguined,[2] the peece ten Rialls, of sixe foot long. Peeces square, damasked all ouer, fifteene Rialls, of sixe foote long and a halfe. Broadcloth of ten pound the Cloath, of colour Venice Red, a Gasse, which is three quarters of a yard, three Rialls of eight. Opium Misseree,[3] which is the best, eight Rialls the Cattee. Amber, in great beads, one Wamg[4] and a halfe, Taile Mallaya,[5] sixe Rialls of eight. Corall, in large branches, fiue and sixe Rialls, the weight of the Taile

They are confined in cages, and when irritated, throw out the civet, which is carefully scraped off. It is brought from the Brazils, Guinea, and the interior of Africa. Lord Valentia brought home from Abyssinia a horn full of it, which is of a dark brown colour, unctuous, somewhat resembling Labdanum, of a very powerful smell, far from fragrant or agreeable. Its principal use is as a perfume, and when genuine is worth from 30*s.* to 40*s.* an ounce" (Milburn, vol. i, p. 104).

[1] *Tahil*, 16 to a *kati*, said to derive from the Hind. *tola*, Sanskrit *tula*, a balance, *tul*, to lift, to weigh (see Yule and Burnell, *s.v.* tola).

[2] *I.e.* muskets, reddened with a lacquer or varnish often applied to sword-blades.

[3] Misseree = *misrī*, Arabic for "Egyptian," *i.e.* Turkish opium.

[4] *Wang* is both Javanese and Malay for *money*; a *wang* is worth $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents, or rather that is the value of a *wang bharu* or "new wang."

[5] This probably means one wang and a half per head, or six reals of eight per tahil of Malay weight.

Mallaya. Rialls of eight, the principallest commodities you can carry.

Item, in the Moneths of February and March, heere commeth three or foure Iunckes from China, very richly laden with Silkes raw and wrought, China Cashes, Purseline,[1] Cotton cloath of diuers fashions and prices, as followeth, viz. Raw-silke of Lamking,[2] which is the best, an hundred and ninetie Rialls the Peecull. Raw-silke of Canton, which is courser, eightie Rials the Peecull. Taffata in boults, an hundred and twelue yards the peece, fortie six Rials the Corge [3] (twenty peeces). Veluets all colours, thirteene yards the peece, twelue Rialls the peece. Damaske, all colours, twelue yards the peece, sixe Rialls the peece. White Sattins, twelue yards long the peeces, eight Rialls. Burgones, ten yards long the peece, fortie fiue Rialls the Corge. Sleue-silke, the best made colours, three Rialls the Cattee. Muske the best, two and twentie Rialls the Cattee. Sewing Gold the best, fifteene knots, euery knot thirty strings, one Riall. Veluet Hangings imbroydered with gold, eighteene Rialls: vpon Sattins, fourteene Rials. White Curten stuffes, nine yards the peeces, fiftie Rialls the Corge. White Damask Flat, nine yards the peeces, foure Rials. Sugar, white, the Peecull, three Rials and a halfe, very drie. Sugar Candy, very drie, fiue Rials the Peecull. Purseline Basons the peeces, two Rialls, very broad and fine. Callico cloath, course, white and browne, fifteene Rialls the Corge. Course Purseline, Drugges, and diuers other commodities they bring, but because they are not for our Countrey, I doe omit. Beniamine very good and white, fiue and thirtie, and thirtie Rialls the Peecull. Lignum-Aloes, eightie Rialls the

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[1] Porcelain. [2] Nanking.

[3] See note on p. 5. This word is still in use in the commerce of the East; the Malay and Sundanese form is "kodi," the Indian "kori" see "Corge" in Yule and Burnell).

Peecull. Allum, which is as good as the English, and comes from China, two Rialls and a halfe the Peecull. Choromandell Cloath is a principall commoditie heere. The most vendible sorts are called Goobares ;[1] Pintadoes of foure and fiue couets:[2] Fine Tappies[3] of Saint Thomas, Ballachos, Iaua Girdles, alias Caine-Goolong,[4] Callico Launes, Booke-Callicos, and Callicos made vp in rowles, white. Item, a Goober is double, and containeth twelue yards, or sixe Hastaes[5] single. Item, Ballachos, course and fine, containing two and thirtie or foure and thirtie Hastaes, but the finest are alwayes longest.

Item, the fine Tappyes of Saint Thomas, sixe Hastaes. Item, Moorces[6] is a fine sort of cloath, but not very much vsed heere, for it is deare and short, containing sixteene Hastaes, at two Rialls and a quarter. Item, Booke Callicos, if they be not corted,[7] are two and thirtie Hastaes. Item, all sorts of Mallayan cloath are generally eight Hastaes long, wherefore it is called Cherra Mallaya.[8] Item, generally all sorts of Cotton cloath, which is broad and of good length, is well requested heere.

Item, Callico Lawnes, white and red, are two and thirtie Hastaes. Item, a Hasta is halfe a yard, accounted from your elbow to the toppe of your middle finger. Item, the Kings Customes heere are as followeth: the Kings Cus-

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[1] *Kaingĕbár*, in Malay, a large plaid-patterned cloth, sometimes of silk, in which Malays roll themselves up to sleep.

[2] Covid, from Portuguese covado, an ell. Milburn, vol. ii, p. 10, says the covid in cloth measure is 18 inches at Madras, and Coromandel cloths were probably sold by this measure.

[3] Is Tappy the same as tepoy in the list given by Yule and Burnell, *s.v.* Piece-goods?

[4] *Gulong*, to roll; *caine* or *kain*, a cloth material.

[5] Hasta, according to Milburn, vol. ii, p. 354, is a measure of 18 inches. See next paragraph but one.

[6] These are enumerated in the list of piece-goods at p. 535 of Yule and Burnell.

[7] Shortened.

[8] See note on p. 61.

tome called Chukey,[1] is eight bagges vpon the hundred bagges, rating Pepper at foure Rials of eight the sacke, what price soeuer it beares. Billa-billian[2] is, if any ship arriue in the Roade, laden with cloath or such like, the King is to be made acquainted therewith, and with the sorts, quantitie, and price thereof, before you may land any part: then hee will send his Officers, and such sorts as he likes, he will haue at the halfe of your price, or somewhat aboue, as you can agree; for if you prise your cloath at twentie Rialls for Corge, hee will giue you but fifteene or sixteene Rialls a Corge: but the Flemmings course hath been to giue him seuen or eight hundred Rialls at a time for a shippes lading, to cleare them of the dutie and trouble. But by the custome of the Countrey, this dutie is vpon sixe thousand sackes of Pepper, sixe hundred sixtie sixe Rialls, if you lade Pepper; otherwise to take so many thousand sackes of the King at halfe a Riall, or three quarters of a Riall vpon a sacke, more then the price currant is in the Towne.

Item, if you shall haue prouided afore-hand sufficient lading to dispatch your shippes, yet you are to pay for this dutie as aforesaid, or else they will not permit you to lade.

Item, Rooba, Rooba,[3] is a duty for anchorage, and is vpon sixe thousand sackes fiue hundred Rialls of eight. Item, the Sabandars[4] duty is vpon sixe thousand sackes two hundred fiftie Rials. Item, the Waighers dutie is one Riall vpon an hundred sackes. Item, the Ierotoolis[5] or

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[1] Javanese and Malay for tax, impost, customs.

[2] *Bĕlian*, from *bèlí*, to buy: this word is probably *bèli-belían*, i.e., things to buy; merchandise.

It *might* be *bĕlah-bĕlian*, to split or divide the merchandise, alluding to the share taken by the King, but the form is doubtful, though the alternative expression, "laba," seems to point that way.

[3] *Ruba-ruba*, anchorage due.

[4] *Shahbandar*, lord or master of the port.

[5] *Juro-tulis*, a clerk (*juro*, an officer; *tulis*, to write): *I* is a misprint for *j*, owing to the type having been badly "distributed."

Waighers belonging to the Custome-house, their dutie is one Riall for an hundred sackes.

Iortan[1] is to the Eastwards of Iacatra, it is called Serebaya. It affoordeth of itselfe victuals, and great store of Cotton-wooll, and spun yarne. There commeth many Iunkes from Ianby,[2] whose lading is Pepper: also there are small Prawes[3] of the Towne, which goe to Banda; so that there are some few Mace and Nuts to be had there.

Mackassar[4] is an Iland not farre from the Celebes. It affoordeth great store of Bezar stones, which may be had reasonably: also rice and other Victualls great plentie. There are Iunkes[5] also which trade to Banda, so that a small quantitie of Mace and Nuts is there to be had also.

Balee is an Iland to the Eastwards of Mackassar, standing in eight degrees and an halfe to the South of the Equinoctiall. It hath of it selfe great store of Rice, Cotton-yarne, slaues, and course white cloth, well requested at Bantam. The commodities for this place are the smallest sort of blue and white beads, Iron, and course Purseline.

Tymore[6] is an Iland which lyeth to the East-ward of Baly, in the latitude of tenne degrees, fortie minutes. This place affoordeth great store of Chindanna,[7] by vs

[1] Valentijn (*Beschr. van Groot Java*, p. 48), says that at the beginning of the seventeenth century Joartan was subject to Soerabaja.

[2] Jambi.

[3] Malay, *Prahu*.

[4] Malay, *Měngkásar*.

[5] Malay and Javanese *ǰung*, and *jung*, but more commonly sounded the latter. The derivation has not been settled. Yule rejects the proposed Chinese origin; one Malay scholar suggests the Persian *jung*, signifying *war*; another the Chinese *jong*, arms, both of which seem applicable.

There appears to be a Malay shell-fish named *ǰong* or *ajong*; perhaps its shape might have suggested a likeness to the Malays on first seeing the cumbrous Chinese vessels. Argensola speaks of "*carcoas* (*i.e.*, cora-cora) called 'janguas' by the Ternatans."

[6] "*Timor*" means east in Malay.

[7] Garcia de Orta, quoted in Yule and Burnell, p. 597, says: "The Sandal grows about Timor, which produces the largest quantity, and it is called *chundana*." Yule and Burnell give Sanskrit *chandana* as the original term.

called white Saunders; the greatest logges are accounted best. It is worth at Bantam twentie Rials of eight the Peecull, at the comming of the Iunkes. Waxe in great cakes, worth at Bantam eighteene, nineteene, twentie, thirtie Rials the Peecul, as the time serues. Item, you must be verie carefull in the choosing of it, for there is great deceit therein; wherefore you must breake it, to see whether it bee mingled or not.

The Commodities which are carried thither, are Chopping-Kniues, small Bugles, Porseline, coloured Taffataes (but no blackes), China frying-Pannes, China bels, and peeces of siluer beaten flat and thin as a wafer, of the bredth of a hand. Item, there is great profit made of this trade, for the Chinese haue giuen to our men which aduentured with them thither, foure to one.

Banda lyeth in the latitude of fiue degrees to the Southwards of the Equinoctiall. It affoordeth great store of Mace and Nutmegs, with Oyle of both sorts. It hath no King, but is gouerned by a Sabandar, which ioyneth with the Sabandars of Nero, and Lentore, Puloway, Pulorin, and Labatacca,[1] Ilands neare adioyning. These Ilands in former times haue been vnder the gouernment of the King of Ternata, but at this present they gouerne of themselues. Item, on these Ilands is haruest thrice a yeare, viz. in the Moneth of Iuly, October and February. But the gathering in Iuly is the greatest, the which is called the Monson Arepootee.[2]

Item, the manner of dealing for their price is as followeth. A small Bahar is tenne Cattees Mace, and an hundred

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[1] Neira, Lonthoir (of het hooge Land van Banda), Poelo Ay, Poelo Rhun, according to Valentijn in his *Naaukeurige Verhanderling van Banda;* Labetakka being the name of a place of importance in Neira.

[2] *Hari* (day), *putih* (white). Purchas adds in a marginal note: "From Poolo Swange [*Suwangi* (not Suwanggi), evil spirit] alias the deuils Iland, comes the foule called Casuarie."

Cattees Nuts; and a great Bahar Mace is an hundred Cattees, and a thousand Cattees Nuts; and a Cattee is fiue pound, thirteene ounces and an halfe English. The prices variable.

Item, The Commodities requested in these Ilands are Choromandel cloth, Cheremallaw, viz. Sarasses, Pintados of fiue Coueyts, fine Ballachos, blacke Girdles, Chellyes, white Callicoes, broad cloth Stammell, Gold in coyne, viz. Rose-nobles of England and the low Countreys, Royalls of eight (Item, you shall haue that there, for seuenty Rialls in Gold, which will cost you ninetie in Rialls), China Basons fine, large, and without brims, Damasks of light colours, Taffataes, Veluets, China Boxes or Counters gilded, Gold chaines, Plate cups gilded, Head-pieces bright damasked, Peeces for shot, but not many, Sword blades braud and backt to the point. Item, Cambaya Cloth, Callicoes blacke and red, Callico lawnes &c. Item, Rice is a very good commoditie to carrie thither.

The Ilands of the Moluccos are fiue, viz. Molucco, Ternate, Tydore, Gelolo, Mackean, and are vnder the Equinoctiall line. These Ilands affoord great store of Cloues, not euery yeare, but euery three yeares. The Cattee there is three pound fiue ounces English, the Bahar two hundred Cattees. Item, nineteene Cattees Ternata makes fifty Cattees Bantam exactly.

The commodities vendible for these places, are Choromandell cloth, Cheremallaw, but fine; and Siam girdles, Salolos, fine Ballachos and Chelleys are best requested. Item, China Taffata, Veluets, Damaske, great Basons, varnished Counters, Broad cloath crymson, Opium and Beniamin, etc.

Siam lieth in the latitude of foureteen degrees & a halfe to the Northward of the Equinoctial. It affoords great store of very good Beniamin, and many rich stones, which are brought thither from Pegu. Item, a Tayle is two Rials

of eight and a quarter. Item, here is much Siluer in bullion, which commeth from Iapan; but Rials of eight are in more request, for two Rialls and a quarter in coine will yeeld two and a halfe in bullion. Broad cloth, stammell colour, Iron, and faire looking glasses are well requested. All manner of China Commodities are there better cheape then at Bantam.

Item, the Guzerat Iunkes come to Siam in the moneths of Iune and Iuly, touching first at the Maldiues, and then at Tenassere, from whence they may goe ouer land to Siam in twentie dayes. Item, at Tenassere there is alwayes fiue and an halfe, and sixe fathomes water.

Borneo lieth in the latitude of three degrees to the South of the Equinoctial. It affoordeth great store of Gold, Bezar stones, Wax, Rotans, Cayulacca,[1] and Sanguis Draconis. Item, at Bemermassin,[2] a Towne situated on this Iland, is the principallest trade for the Commodities afore-said. Item, the Commodities requested there are as followeth: Chromandell cloth of all sorts, China Silkes, Damasks, Taffataes, Veluets, all colours but blackes, Broad cloth, Stammell, and Rialls of eight. Item, Bezar stones are there bought by the Taile, which is the weight of one Riall and an halfe of eight, for fiue or sixe Rials the Taile, which is one Ounce and the third part English.

Soocodanna is a Towne situate vpone Borneo, in the latitude of one degree and an halfe to the South of the Equinoctiall, and is North-east from Bantam one hundred and sixtie leagues. There is in the entrance of the harbour

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[1] See note on p. 211.

[2] Banjar Massin. "Is situated a considerable distance up a river, which empties itself into the sea near Point Salatan, the southern extremity of Borneo, in latitude 30° 51′ South. There was formerly a town of that name, about 12 English miles from the sea; but it is now removed about six miles higher up, and called Tattas" (Milburn, vol. ii, p. 414).

fiue fathomes, and at low water three fathomes, a Faulcon shot of[f] the shore, Ozie ground.

To this place is great Trade in Iunkes and Prawes, for it yeeldeth great store of Diamonds, the which are accounted the best in the world. There is store to be had at all times, but specially in the moneths of Ianuary, Aprill, Iuly and October, but the greatest quantitie in Ianuary and Aprill, at which times they are brought downe the Riuer called Laué[1] by Prawes. The manner of getting of them is as you diue for Pearle. The reason why more quantitie is gotten in one Moneth then in an other is, for that in Iuly and October there falleth so much raine that it riseth nine fathomes, which causeth such a streame that they can hardly diue, and in the other moneths there is but foure, or foure fathomes and an halfe, which is held the best depth for their diuing.

Item, Commodities vendible and in request here at Soocodanna, are Mallacca Pintados, verie fine, Sarrassa, Goobares, Poulings, Chera Iaua, Callico Lawnes, China Silkes light colours, sewing Gold, sleaue Silke, Broad cloth, Stammell, all sorts of small Bugles[2] (Bugles which are made in Bantam, of colour blue, and in fashion like a Tunne, but of the bignesse of a Beane, and cost at Bantam foure hundred a Riall of eight, worth at Soocodanna a Masse the hundred, the Masse beeing three quarters of a Riall of eight), China Cashes, Rialls of eight, but principally Gold, without which you can doe little, for you shall haue a stone for one Riall in Gold, which you shall not haue for a Riall and an halfe, or a Riall and three quarters, in siluer.

Item, you are to vnderstand that it is the best course when you are bound for this place, to goe for Bemermassen first, where you may barter the Commodities aforesaid for

[1] Lava in Valentijn's map.

[2] Beads.

Gold, which you shal haue for three Cattees Cashes the Mallacca Taile, which is nine Rialls of eight, as I haue beene credibly informed it hath been worth of late years. And bringing it to Soocodanna you shall put it away for Diamonds, at foure Cattees Cashes the Taile, which is one and three quarters and halfe quarter of a Riall in weight, so that you shall gaine three quarters of a Riall of eight vpon a Taile. But the principall gaines must be in the Diamonds.

Item, you must vnderstand that there are Diamonds of foure waters, which is called Varna,[1] viz. Varna Ambon,[2] Varna Loud,[3] Varna Sackar,[4] Varna Bessee.[5] The first is white, [the second ?] greene, [the third ?] yellow, and [the fourth ?] neither greene nor yellow, but a colour betweene both. But the white water is the best.

Their Weights[6] are called Sa-Masse,[7] Sa-Copang,[8] Sa-Boosuck,[9] Sa-Pead.[10] Item, foure Coopangs is a Masse, two Boosucks is one Copang, and one Pead and an halfe is a Boosuck. Item, there is a Pahaw which is foure Masse, and sixteene Masse is one Taile, and by this weight they doe not onely weigh Diamonds, but Gold also.

Of China wares, raw Silke the best is made at Lanking,

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[1] *Warna*, colour. [2] *Embun*, dew. [3] *Laut*, sea.
[4] *Sakar* or *Shakar*, sugar. [5] *Bĕsi*, iron.

[6] Milburn (vol. ii, p. 417) has the following table of weights :—

2 Busucks 4 Coopangs 4 Mace 4 Pahaw	make	1 Kupang 1 Mace 1 Pahaw 1 Tale

[7] *Mâs*, in Sanskrit a weight, and in many languages of the Archipelago also *gold*. *Sa'*, one, short for *satu*.

[8] *Kupang* in Kawi, the ancient language of Java, worth 4 cts.; in Penang it is worth 10 cts.; also used as a weight.

[9] *Buso* or *busok*, a weight, varying in different places, value 16 cts. in gold.

[10] This is difficult to identify. There are a variety of weights below the "busuk," but none coinciding with this, in Malay.

and is called Howsa,[1] worth there eighty Rials the Peecul. Taffata, called Tue,[2] the best made at a small Towne, called Hocchu,[3] worth thirtie Rials the Corge. Damaske, called Towne,[4] the best made at Canton, worth fiftie Rials the Corge. Sewing Silke, called Couswa,[5] worth one hundred Rials the Peecull. Imbrodered Hangings, called Poey,[6] the best ten Rials the piece. Sewing Gold, called Kimswa,[7] is sold by the Chippau,[8] which is a bundle, each Chippau contayning ten Papers, and in each Paper is fiue knots, sold for three Pawes,[9] two Rials of eight, and the best hath thirtie sixe threds in a knot. Sattins, called Lyn,[10] the best one Riall the piece. Great Basons, called Chopau,[11] worth three by the Riall. White sugar, called Petong,[12] the best one halfe Riall the Peecull. Purceline of the small sorts, called Poa, the best one Riall the Cattee. Pearle Boxes, called Chanab,[13] the best fiue Rials the peice. Veluets, called Tangoiounck,[14] of nine yards long, fiue Rials the piece. Sleaue Silke, called Iounckes,[15] the best one

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[1] Nanking raw silk is called *húsz'*.

[2] Tue, taffeta, seems to be *ch'au* in Cantonese, but *t'iu* in the Fuhkien dialect.

[3] Is this perhaps Fu-chau, the first syllable of which is *Fok* in Cantonese, *Hok* in the Fuhkien dialect?

[4] Towne is almost certainly the Cantonese *tün*, satin or damask.

[5] *Couswa* seems unrecognizable.

[6] *Poey* is perhaps *Pu-wei* in the Mandarin dialect.

[7] Chinese for "gold thread."

[8] Cantonese, *shap-pa*, ten bundles.

[9] *Pawe* is probably the same as *pau*, explained in the preceding note, *i.e.* bundle, or perhaps Chinese *pao*, another word having the same signification.

[10] Cantonese *lun*.

[11] *U* is probably for *n*; in that case the word is *shoupän*, hand-bason.

[12] Simply Chinese for "white sugar," Cantonese *pak-t'ong*.

[13] Chanab seems unrecognizable.

[14] *T'in-ngo-yung*, Cantonese pronunciation of the characters which form the word for velvet.

[15] *Yung*, Cantonese for floss silk.

hundred and fiftie Rials [the] Peecull. Muske, called Saheo,[1] seuen Rials the Cattee. Cashes[2] sixtie Pecooes the Riall.

Item, Broad-cloth, called Toloney Sasocke,[3] which is three quarters of a yard, worth seuen Rials of eight. Loking Glasses very large, called Kea,[4] worth ten Rials the piece. Tinne, called Sea,[5] worth there fifteene Rials the Peecull. Wax, called La,[6] fifteene Rials the Peecull. Muskets, called Cauching,[7] the Barrell twentie Rials. Iapon Sables, called Samto,[8] worth eight Rialls the piece. Elephants[9] teeth, the greatest and best two hundred Rials the Peecull, and small, one hundred Rials the Peecull, called Ga. White Saunders,[10] called Toawheo,[11] the best in great logges fortie Rials the Peecull.

Item, the Custome of Pepper inwards is one Taile vpon a Peecull, and out-wards no Custome.

Item, it is very straightly looked into that they carry no munition out of the Land in any sort.

Item, in the moneth of March, the Iunckes bound for the Mannelies[12] depart from Chauchu[13] in Companies,

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[1] Musk is *Shié hiáng* in Cantonese, *jakō* in Japanese.

[2] Cashes sixtie Pecooes. See above, p. 213. This means 60 strings of "cash," exchangeable for one silver dollar.

[3] *To-lo-ni*, evidently not a Chinese word, is used in the China trade for broadcloth (S. Wells Williams). Sasocke probably means "narrow width."

[4] *Kwa-king* is Chinese for a looking-glass. Perhaps *Kea* is merely the first half of this compound word.

[5] Tin in Cantonese is *sek*, of which *sea* is apparently a corruption.

[6] *La* is Chinese for wax.

[7] Probably for *kua-ch'iong*, literally fire-spear.

[8] The Japanese *wakizashi*, or short sword, is also called *tan-tō*. May *samto* be a corruption of this? Sable is the same as *sabre*.

[9] "Elephants' teeth" (ivory) in Cantonese is *tséung nga;* it is the second word, meaning "tooth," that Saris uses.

[10] Saunders = sandal-wood.

[11] *Tán-hiang-mu* is good Chinese for "sandal-wood," and in the Swatow dialect the syllable *tan* is sometimes pronounced *toa*; but how did Saris get the evident corruption *wheo?*

[12] Manila.

[13] Perhaps Chau chau-fu.

sometime foure, fiue, ten or more together, as they are readie.

Item, their lading out-wards is raw and wrought Silkes, but farre better then those which they carrie for Bantam.

Item, betweene Canton and the Mannelies is ten dayes sayle.

Item, in the beginning of Iune they returne from the Mannelies. Their lading is Rialls of eight, and there is not lesse then fortie sayle in a yeare, which are bound thither; their force is nothing, so that you may take them with your ships Boate.

Item, in this year 1608 Pepper was worth in China sixe Tades[1] and an halfe the Peecull, and at the same time in Bantam worth two and a halfe Rialls the Tinbang.[2]

A note of requestable Commodities vendible in Iapan, together with their prices there Current, being Masses and Canderines, each Canderine contayning the $\frac{1}{10}$ *of a Masse, viz:*[3]

Broad-Clothes of all sorts, viz. Blackes, Yellowes and Reds, which cost in Holland eight or nine Gilders the Flemmish ell, two ells three quarters is worth three, foure too fiue hundred. Note that cloth of a high Wooll is not requestable, but such as is low shorne most vendible. Fine Bayes of the colours afore-said vendible: not according as the Portugalls were, but well cottoned.

Sayes. Rashes. Bouratts single. Bouratts double. Silke Grogarams.[4] Turkey Grogarams. Chamlets. Diuo Gekepert.[5] Weersctynen.[6] Caniant. Gewart Twijne.[7] Veluets.

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[1] A misprint for Tailes. [2] *I.e.*, half a pecul.

[3] Cp. the particulars given on p. 204. The information here registered is obviously drawn largely from Dutch sources.

[4] Grogaram, a kind of stuff so-called, with a large woof and rough pile (see note 4 on p. 204).

[5] Diuo is probably a misprint for Ditto. Gekepert = twilled.

[6] *Weerschijn*, watered. [7] *Gewart*, twisted; *twijn*, thread.

Muske, sold in weight against Siluer. India cloth of sorts requested. Sattins. Taffataes. Damaskes. Holland-Cloth from fifteene to twentie Stiuers the Flemmish ell, and not aboue. Diaper. Damaske, the better it is wrought with figures or branches. Threed of all colours. Carpets for Tables. Gilded Leather, painted with Pictures and Flowres, the smallest worke best. Painted Pictures; they delight in lasciuious Stories of Warres by Sea and Land, the larger the better worth, one, two, to three hundred. Quick-siluer, the hundred Cattees from three to foure hundred. Vermillion, the hundred Cattees worth from three to sixe hundred. Painting for Womens faces, the hundred Cattees twentie eight. Copper in Plates, one hundred twentie fiue, Flemmish weight, worth ninetie to an hundred. Lead in small Barres, the hundred Cattees worth from sixtie to eightie eight. Lead in sheetes (best requested, the thinner the better), one hundred pounds Flemmish, to eightie. Tinne in logs fine, one hundred and twentie pound Flemmish, three hundred and fiftie. Iron, twentie fiue Ounces Holland, worth foure. Steele, the hundred Cattees, worth from one to two hundred. Tapistrie. Ciuet, the Cattee worth from one hundred and fiftie to two hundred. China roots, the hundred Cattees or Peecull worth fortie. China sowing Gold, the Paper, three masse, three. Powder Sugar of China, the hundred Cattees or Peecull worth fortie to fiftie. Sugar Candie, the Peecul, or one hundred Cattees, worth from fiftie to sixty. Veluets of all colors, eight els the piece, worth from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirtie. Wrought Veluets like fabricke, worth from one hundred & eighty to two hundred. Taffataes, all colours & good Silke, worth, the piece, from foure and twentie, thirtie, to fortie. Sattin of seuen or eight ells long, the piece worth from eightie to one hundred. Figured Sattin, worth from one hundred and twentie to one hundred

and fiftie. Gazen[1] of seuen pikes[2] or ells, worth from fortie to fiftie. Raw Silke the Cattee, of twelue pound Flemmish, worth from thirtie to fortie. Vntwisted Silke of eight and twentie pound Flemmish, worth from thirtie fiue to fortie. Twisted Silke, worth from eight and twentie to fortie. Drinking Glasses of all sorts. Bottles. Cans and Cups. Trenchers. Platters. Beere Glasses. Salts. Wine Glasses. Bekers gilt. Looking-glasses of the largest sort. Muscouie Glasse. Much Salt.[3] Writing Table-bookes. Paper-bookes. Lead to neale Pots. Spanish Sope well requested; it is sold for one masse the small cacke. Amber in beades, worth one hundred and fortie to one hundred and sixtie. Silke stockings of all colours. Spanish Leather, Neates Leather, with other sorts of Leather vsed for Gloues, worth from sixe, eight to nine. Candiques of China, worth from fifteene to twentie. Candiques of the same place blacke, the former being blew, from ten to fifteene. Wax for Candles, one hundred pounds Flemmish, worth from two hundred to two hundred and fiftie. Hony the Peecull, worth sixtie. Samell[4] of Cochinchina, the Peecull, one hundred and eightie. Pepper, the Peecull, if there come not much, worth one hundred. Nutmegs, the Peecull, twentie fiue. Campheir of Barous or Borneo, the pound hollands,[5] from two hundred and fiftie to foure hundred. Sanders of Solier, the Peecull, worth one hundred. Callom-back wood, good and weightie, the pound worth from one, two, three to fiue. Sapon, or red wood, the Peecull, from twentie to twentie sixe. Elephants teeth (the greater, the better) worth from foure, fiue, sixe, seuen, to eight hundred. Renosceros horne, the Iauan Cattee, worth thirtie. Harts hornes gilded, the piece, three, foure, or fiue hundred. Roch

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[1] Gauzes?

[2] *Pike*, a Turkish measure (now about 27 inches), familiar to the factors from their experience in the Levant.

[3] Rock salt? [4] Sandal? [5] Holland?

Allome esteemed good ware, and enquired after; that which cost but three Gilders hath beene sold for one hundred Gilders, but not euery mans money.

Note that the Chineses will commonly trucke for your Siluer, and giue you Gold of twentie three Carrakes[1] from fifteene to twentie the Ounce Siluer; but some times there commeth much, and other some times little.

A Memoriall of such Merchandize as are to be bought in Iapan, and the prices as they are there worth.[2]

Hempe very good, one hundred Cattees, beeing one hundred and twentie pound Holland, worth from sixtie fiue to seuentie. Eye[3] colours for dying blew, almost as good as Indico, made vp in round cakes or pieces, and packed one hundred cakes in a Fardell, worth the Fardell fiftie to sixtie. Dying for white, turning to red colour, made in Fardles or Bales of fiftie Gautins[4] Malios worth fiue to eight. Rice very white and good, cased, worth the Fares,[5] eight, three fifth parts. Rice of a worser sort, the bale worth seuen, three tenth parts.

At Edo, Saccaio, Osacaio[6] and Meacow, is the best Dying for all sorts of colours whatsoeuer your desire, viz. Red, Blacke and Greene, and for gilding Gold and Siluer, and is better then the Chinese Varnish.

Brimstone in great abundance, cost the Peecull, seuen. Salt-peeter, dearer in one place then another, worth one and a halfe. Cotton-wooll the Peecull, ten.

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[1] Carats.

[2] Cp. p. 206.

[3] *Ai* is the Japanese blue dye, obtained from Polygonum Tinctorium.

[4] *I.e.*, *Gantang*, a dry measure equal to about a gallon (Yule and Burnell), equal to 6 lb. Dutch (Milburn). Malios — Malay.

[5] A misprint for fardle?

[6] Sakai, Osaka.

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